



WILLIAM BECKFORD Esquire, *K. Sharp sc.*
 twice Lord Mayor of London, ob: 21 June 1770 *Æ 72*

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CITY PETITIONS,
ADDRESSES,
AND
REMONSTRANCES,
&c. &c. &c.

COMMENCING
IN THE YEAR M.DCC.LXIX.
AND INCLUDING THE
LAST PETITION,
For the Burial of the Right Hon^{ble} the
EARL OF CHATHAM
IN
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

WITH
HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWERS,
ALSO
Mr. Alderman BECKFORD'S
SPEECH TO THE KING,
On the Twenty-Third of MAY, 1770.

—Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi. Hor.

L O N D O N:
Printed for DAVID STEEL, Number 1, UNION-ROW, the
Lower-End of the MINORIES, LITTLE TOWER-HILL.
M.DCC.LXXVIII.

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

BY [illegible]

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P R E F A C E.

IT is a melancholy reflection,
that an obstinate attachment
to a set of men, who have ever
been inimical to the present roy-
al family, from principle, and
who, in the language of that
great statesman and patriot,
lord Chatham, “ hold princi-
“ ples incompatible with free-
“ dom,” should, contrary to
the

the wishes and repeated prayers of his majesty's *true* subjects, be the means of continuing them in office, to the utter preclusion of those able ministers, who have raised this *once* formidable nation to the highest pitch of glory.

How different was the conduct of that wise monarch, George the second ! who, after having dismissed from the public service those upright men who dared to contradict their sovereign's

reign's pleasure,* upon the petition of his loyal citizens of London, graciously condescended to lay aside his natural predilection for his favourite Hanover, and to restore those illustrious statesmen, PITT and LEGGE, to the direction of public affairs, and, by that means, to government the confidence of the people : the glorious event shewed the wisdom of the measure. Since that unlucky period,

* In refusing to send British troops to Germany.

riod, it has been the fatal policy of administration to ridicule the first corporation in the world, and not only to advise their monarch to return contemptuous answers to their humble petitions, but even to give his royal assent to the depriving them of what they certainly considered, and still do consider, as their undoubted right and property :* but, it is
more

* The bed of the river Thames, on which part of the Adelphi stands.

more than probable, the advisers were interested in the event.

Without the spirit of divination, it seems evident, at this melancholy crisis, that, unless the prejudice long conceived against one party, and the blind regard for another, be totally removed, we may lose (which Heaven avert!) *more* than North America. Oh, then!

“ In vain with tears our loss we may deplore,

“ In vain look back to what we were before ;

“ We set, like stars that fall, to rise no more.”

The Editor.

1840
The first of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

The second of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good.

The third of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

The fourth of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good.

The fifth of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

The sixth of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good.

The seventh of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

The eighth of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good.

The ninth of the year
was a very dry one
and the crops were
very poor.

The tenth of the year
was a very wet one
and the crops were
very good.



Addresses, Remonstrances, Petitions, &c.

T U R N E R, Mayor.

In a meeting, or assembly, of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen, of the several companies of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Saturday, the twenty-fourth day of June, 1769:

 R. MICHAEL LOVEL produced a petition to his majesty, which he said he had prepared with the assistance of several liverymen. A motion was then made, That the said petition be read: the same was read accordingly; and, the lord-
B mayor

mayor objecting to the title of the petition being called *The petition of the lord-mayor, commonalty, and livery, of the city of London*, another petition was produced, intitled, *The humble petition of the livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled* : which was then read ; and, upon the question being put, That this petition be presented to his majesty ; the same was unanimously agreed to by the holding up of hands.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble petition of the livery of the city of London, in common-hall assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the livery of the city of London, with all the humility which is due from free subjects to their lawful sovereign, but with all the anxiety which the
sense

the petition
 the lord-mayor,
 city of Lon-
 oduced, in-
 the livery of
 all assembled :
 on the ques-
 ion be pre-
 was unani-
 lding up of

t majesty.

very of the
 -hall assem-

ful and loyal
 f the city of
 ity which is
 ir lawful so-
 ty which the
 sense

sense of the present oppressions, and the
 just dread of future mischiefs, produce in
 our minds, beg leave to lay before your
 majesty some of those intolerable grievan-
 ces which your people have suffered from
 the evil conduct of those who have been
entrusted with the administration of your
majesty's government, and from the secret
and unremitting influence of the worst of
counsellors.

We should be wanting in our duty to
 your majesty, as well as to ourselves and
 our posterity, should we forbear to repre-
 sent to the throne the desperate attempts
 which have been and are too successfully
 made to destroy that constitution, to the
 spirit of which we owe the relation which
 subsists between your majesty and the sub-
 jects of these realms, and to subvert those
 sacred laws which our ancestors have sealed
 with their blood.

B 2

Your

Your ministers, from corrupt principles, and in violation of every duty, have, by various enumerated means, invaded our invaluable and unalienable right of trial by jury.

They have, with impunity, issued general warrants, and violently seized persons and private papers.*

They have rendered the laws non-effective to our security, by evading the Habeas Corpus.

They have caused punishments, and even perpetual imprisonment, to be inflicted, without trial, conviction, or sentence. ✕

They have brought into disrepute the civil magistracy, by the appointment of persons who are, in many respects, unqualified for that important trust, and have thereby purposely furnished a pretence for calling in the aid of a military power.

They

* As in the case of John Wilkes, esq. and others.

They avow, and endeavour to establish, a maxim, absolutely inconsistent with our constitution: "That an occasion for effectually employing a military force always presents itself, when the civil power is trifled with or insulted." And, by a fatal and false application of this maxim, they have wantonly and wickedly sacrificed the lives of many of your majesty's innocent subjects,† and have prostituted your majesty's sacred name and authority, to justify, applaud, and recommend, their own illegal and bloody actions.

They have screened more than one murderer from punishment, and in its place have unnaturally substituted reward.‡

They have established numberless unconstitutional regulations and taxations in our colonies; they have caused a revenue to be raised in some of them by prerogative;

B 3

tive;

† In the case of Mr. Allen, in St. George's fields.

‡ In the case of Balse and M'quirk, &c.

tive; they have appointed civil-law judges to try revenue causes, and to be paid from out of the condemnation-money. *Xc*

After having insulted and defeated the law, on different occasions, and by different contrivances, both at home and abroad, they have at length completed their design, by violently wresting from the people the last sacred right we had left, the right of election, by the unprecedented seating of a candidate, notoriously set up and chosen only by themselves;† they have thereby taken from your subjects all hopes of parliamentary redress, and have left us no resource, under God, but in your majesty.

All this they have been able to effect by corruption; by a scandalous misapplication and embezzlement of the public treasure, and a shameful prostitution of public honours

† Colonel Luttrell, for the county of Middlesex, in the room of John Wilkes, esq. who was chosen by a large majority.

honours and employments ; procuring deficiencies of the civil-list to be made good without examination ; and, instead of punishing, conferring honours on, a paymaster, the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.†

From an unfeigned sense of the duty we owe to your majesty and to our country, we have ventured thus humbly to lay before the throne these great and important truths, which it has been the business of your ministers to conceal. We most earnestly beseech your majesty to grant us redress. It is for the purpose of redress alone, and for such occasions as the present, that those great and extensive powers are entrusted to the crown, by the wisdom of that constitution, which your majesty's illustrious family was chosen to defend, and which, we trust in God, it will for ever continue to support.

B 4

BECK-

† Lord Holland.

BECKFORD, Mayor.

In a meeting, or assembly, of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen, of the several companies of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Tuesday, the sixth day of March, 1770:

An address, remonstrance, and petition, to the king, being produced, a motion was made that the same be read; and, the question being put by Mr. Common Serjeant, it was resolved in the affirmative: whereupon the same was read and agreed to as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and

and livery, of the city of London, in
common-hall assembled.

May it please your majesty,

WE have already, in our petition,
dutifully represented to your ma-
jesty the chief injuries we have sustained.
We are unwilling to believe that your ma-
jesty can slight the desires of your people,
or be regardless of their affection, and deaf
to their complaints. Yet their complaints
remain unanswered, their injuries are con-
firmed, and the only judge, † removeable at
the pleasure of the crown, has been dismis-
sed from his high office for defending in
parliament the law and the constitution.

We, therefore, venture once more to
address ourselves to your majesty, as to
the father of your people, as to him who
must be both able and willing to redress
our grievances, and we repeat our appli-
cation with the greater propriety, because

B 5

we

† Lord Camden, lord-chancellor.

we see the instruments of our wrongs, who have carried into execution the measures of which we complain, more particularly distinguished by your majesty's royal bounty and favour.

Under the same secret and malign influence, which through each successive administration has defeated every good and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the house of commons have deprived your people of their dearest rights.

They have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles the first, or the dispensing power assumed by James the second: a deed, which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legislature itself can no more be valid without a legal house of commons than without a legal prince upon the throne.

Representatives

Representatives of the people are essential to the making of laws, and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived. The present house of commons do not represent the people. +f

We owe to your majesty an obedience, under the restrictions of the laws, for the calling and duration of parliaments; and your majesty owes to us, that our representation, free from the force of arms or corruption, should be preserved to us in parliament. It was for this we successfully struggled under James the second; for this we seated, and have faithfully supported, your majesty's family on the throne. The people have been invariably uniform in their object, though the different mode of attack has called for a different defence.

Under James the second they complained that the sitting of parliament was interrupted, because it was not corruptly subservient to his designs : we complain, now, that the sitting of this parliament is not interrupted, because it is corruptedly subservient to the designs of your majesty's ministers. Had the parliament, under James the second, been as submissive to his commands as the parliament is at this day to the dictates of a minister, instead of clamours for its meeting, the nation would have rung, as now, with outcries for its dissolution.

The forms of the constitution, like those of religion, were not established for the form's sake, but for the substance ; and we call God and men to witness, that, as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions, which places, and pensions, and lucrative employments, have invented,

vented, so neither will we be deprived of it by them ; but, as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved.

Since, therefore, the misdeeds of your majesty's ministers, in violating the freedom of election, and depraving the noble constitution of parliaments, are notorious, as well as subversive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm ; and, since your majesty, both in honour and justice, is obliged inviolably to preserve them, according to the oath, made to God and your subjects, at your coronation ; we, your majesty's remonstrants, assure ourselves that your majesty will restore the constitutional government and quiet of your people, by dissolving this parliament, and removing those evil ministers forever from your councils.

His

*His majesty's answer, delivered the 14th of
March, 1770.*

47 I shall always be ready to receive the requests and to listen to the complaints of my subjects ; but it gives me great concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled as to offer me an address and remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people : with this view, I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering in such a conduct that I can either discharge my own duty, or
secure

secure to my subjects the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend; and, while I act upon these principles, I shall have a right to expect, and I am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people.

B E C K F O R D, Mayor.

A common-council being holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Monday, the 14th day of May, 1770:

A motion was made, and question put, that an humble address, remonstrance, and petition, be presented to his majesty, touching the violated right of election, and the applications of the livery of London, and his majesty's answer thereupon: the same was resolved in the affirmative: which address, remonstrance,

remonstrance, and petition, follows in these words.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

May it please your majesty,

WHEN your majesty's most faithful subjects, the citizens of London, whose loyalty and affection have been so often and so effectually proved and experienced by the illustrious house of Brunswick, are labouring under the weight of that displeasure, which your majesty has been advised to lay upon them, in the answer given from the throne to their late humble application, we feel ourselves constrained, with all humility, to approach the royal father of his people.

Conscious,

Conscious, sire, of the purest sentiments of veneration which they entertain for your majesty's person, we are deeply concerned, that what the law allows, and the constitution teaches, hath been misconstrued into disrespect to your majesty, by the instruments of that influence which shakes the realm.

Perplexed and astonished as we are, by the awful sentence of censure, lately passed upon the citizens of London, in your majesty's answer from the throne, we cannot, without surrendering all that is dear to Englishmen, forbear most humbly to supplicate, that your majesty will deign to grant a more favourable interpretation to this dutiful, though persevering, claim to our invaded birth-rights, nothing doubting the benignity of your majesty's nature will, to our unspeakable comfort, at length break through all the secret and visible

fible machinations to which the city of London owes its late severe repulse, and that your kingly justice and fatherly tenderness will disclaim the malignant and pernicious advice which suggested the answer we deplore: an advice of most dangerous tendency; in-as-much as thereby the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject; namely, to petition the king for redress of grievances, to complain of the violation of the freedom of election, and to pray dissolution of parliament, to point out mal-practices in administration, and to urge the removal of evil ministers, hath, by the generality of one compendious word, been indiscriminately checked with reprimand; and your majesty's afflicted citizens of London have heard, from the throne itself, that the contents of their humble address, remonstrance, and petition, laying their complaints and injuries at the feet of their sovereign, cannot but be considered by your majesty as disrespectful

spectful to yourself, injurious to your parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

Your majesty cannot disapprove that we here assert the clearest principles of the constitution against the insidious attempts of evil counsellors, to perplex, confound, and shake, them. We are determined to abide by those rights and liberties which our forefathers bravely vindicated at the ever memorable revolution, and which their sons will always resolutely defend. We, therefore, now renew, at the foot of the throne, our claim to the indispensable right of the subject: a full, free, and unmutilated, parliament, legally chosen in all its members; a right, which this house of commons have manifestly violated, depriving, at their will and pleasure, the county of Middlesex of one of its legal representatives, and arbitrarily nominating, as a knight of the shire, a person not elected

ted by a majority of the freeholders. As the only constitutional means of reparation now left for the injured electors of Great-Britain, we implore, with most urgent supplication, the dissolution of this present parliament, the removal of evil ministers, and the total extinction of that fatal influence which has caused such a national discontent. In the mean time, sire, we offer our constant prayers to heaven, that your majesty may reign, as kings can only reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free, people.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 23d of May, 1770.

I should have been wanting to the public, as well as to myself, if I had not expressed my dissatisfaction at the late address.

My sentiments on that subject continue the same; and I should ill deserve to be considered as the father of my people, if I should

should suffer myself to be prevailed upon to make such an use of my prerogative as I cannot but think inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution, of the kingdom.

B E C K F O R D, Mayor.

A common-council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Friday, the 25th day of May, 1770.

The lord-mayor being called upon to acquaint this court what he had said to his majesty, after receiving his majesty's answer to their address, remonstrance, and petition, the same was accordingly produced; which, being read, was ordered to be entered into the journal of this court, in the following words.

Most

Most gracious sovereign,

WILL your majesty be pleased so far to condescend, as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds. The declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, sire, to assure your majesty, that your majesty has not, in all your dominions, any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate, to your majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown.

We do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate

plicate your majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect, at least, of redress.

Permit me, sire, farther to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence in, and regard for, your people, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious revolution.

A motion

reateft hu-
estly sup-
plicate

A motion was made, and question put, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to congratulate him on the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another princess; the same was unanimously resolved in the affirmative: which address is as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE wait upon your majesty with our sincere congratulations on the happy delivery of our most gracious queen, and on the birth of another princess; and to assure your majesty, that there are not, in all your dominions, any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, and more affectionate,

onate to your majesty's person and family,
or more ready to sacrifice their lives and
fortunes in the maintenance of the true
honour and dignity of your crown.

Long may your majesty reign the true
guardian of the liberties of this free coun-
try, and be the instrument, in the hands
of providence, of transmitting to our poste-
rity those invaluable rights and privileges,
which are the birth-right of the subjects
of this kingdom.

*His majesty's answer, delivered the 30th day of
May, 1770.*

I receive with great satisfaction your
congratulations on the happy delivery, of
the queen, and the birth of a princess;
and I return you my hearty thanks for
your duty and affection to my person and
family, and the zeal for the true honour
and dignity of my crown which you express
upon this occasion.

C

The

The city of London, entertaining these loyal sentiments, may be always assured of my protection.

C R O S B Y, Mayor.

A common-council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Thursday, the 15th day of November, 1770.

A motion was made, and question put, that an humble address, remonstrance, and petition, be presented to his majesty, by this court, touching the violated right of election, and praying a dissolution of the present parliament: the same was declared to be carried in the affirmative: and, a division being demanded, and granted, there appeared seven aldermen and seventy one commoners, besides the two tellers, for the affirmative;

affirmative, and eight aldermen and thirty-eight commoners, besides the two tellers, for the negative; whereupon his lordship declared the same to be resolved in the affirmative: which address, remonstrance, and petition, was agreed to, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, most humbly beg leave to approach your majesty, and most dutifully to lay again at the foot of the throne our aggravated grievances and earnest supplications. Although, through prevalence of evil counsellors, our just complaints have hi-

thereto met with repulse and reprimand, nevertheless, we will not forego the last consolation of the unhappy,—hope,—that our sufferings will at length find an end from the innate goodness of your majesty; the gracious effects of which have, to our unspeakable grief, been intercepted from your injured people, by a fatal conspiracy of malevolent influences around the throne.

We, therefore, again implore your majesty in this sad crisis, with hearts big with sorrow and warm with affection, not to be induced, by false suggestions, contrary to the benignity of your royal nature, to shut up your paternal compassion and justice against the prayers of unhappy subjects, claiming, as we now again presume to do, with equal humility and free-born plainness, our indisputable birth-rights, freedom of election and right of petitioning.

We

We have seen the known law of the land, the sure guardian of right, trodden down, and, by the influence of daring ministers, arbitrary discretion, the law of tyrants, set up, to overthrow the choice of the electors, and nominate to a seat in parliament a person not chosen by the people.

Your majesty's throne is founded on the free exercise of this great right of election; to preserve it inviolate is true loyalty; to undermine and destroy it is the most compendious treason against the whole constitution.

Deign, then, sir, amidst the complicated dangers which surround us, to restore satisfaction and harmony to your faithful subjects, by removing from your majesty's presence all evil counsellors, and by recurring to the recent sense of your people, taken in a new parliament.

By such an exertion, alone, of your own royal wisdom and virtue, the various wounds of the constitution can be effectually healed; and, by representatives freely chosen, and acting independently, the salutary awe of parliament cannot fail to secure to us that sacred bulwark of English liberty, the trial by jury, against the dangerous designs of those, who have dared openly to attempt to mutilate its power and destroy its efficacy. + i

So will dissatisfaction and national weakness change at once into public confidence, order, strength, and dignity; and this boasted constitution of England, so late the envy of nations, no longer hold forth, to the derision of Europe, electors not suffered to elect, juries forbid to judge of the whole matter in issue before them, and dutiful petitioners, remonstrating the most flagrant grievances, branded, by the ministers

ministers who oppress them, as seditious infractors of that constitution we religiously revere, and, together with your majesty's sacred person, will unceasingly defend against all enemies and betrayers.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 21st day of November, 1770.

As I have seen no reason to alter the opinion expressed in my answer to your former address upon this subject, I cannot comply with the prayer of your petition.

C R O S B Y, Mayor.

A common-council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Wednesday, the 5th day of June, 1771.

A motion was made, and question put, That an humble address be presented to his majesty,

ty, to congratulate him on the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another prince: the same was resolved in the affirmative: which address was agreed to, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, embrace this joyful occasion of approaching your majesty with our sincere congratulation on the safe delivery of the queen, and the auspicious birth of another prince.

Your majesty's ever loyal and faithful citizens of London, exceeded by none of
your

your subjects in honest and anxious zeal for your majesty's happiness, and the glory and prosperity of your reign, rejoice in all events which augment your majesty's domestic felicity; firmly trusting, that every increase of the august house of Brunswick will prove an additional security to our religion and the great charter of liberty, which, in consequence of the glorious and necessary revolution, that illustrious house was chosen to defend.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 12th of June, 1771.

I thank you for this dutiful address, and for your congratulations on the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another prince.

It gives me great satisfaction to find, that you consider the increase of my family as an additional security to our religion, and to that liberty which I look upon with

pleasure as the basis of my government,
and which I shall always think my honour
and interest concerned to defend.

C R O S B Y, Mayor.

In a meeting, or assembly, of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the several companies of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Monday, the 24th day of June, 1771:

A motion was made, and question put, That an humble address, remonstrance, and petition, be presented to his majesty, from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled: the same was resolved in the affirmative.

*And, an humble address, remonstrance, and petition, to his majesty, being produced, a motion was made, That the same be read :
and,*

*and, the question being put by Mr. Town-
Clerk, it was resolved in the affirmative :
whereupon the same was read, as follows.*

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address, remonstrance, and
petition, of the lord-mayor, aldermen,
and livery, of the city of London, in
common-hall assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal
subjects, the lord-mayor, alder-
men, and livery, of the city of London, in the
anguish of our hearts, beg leave to approach
your royal person, and deeply to lament,
that we still suffer, together with many
others, all those great and unparalleled
grievances, which we have before submit-
ted to your majesty, with the hope of a
full and speedy redress from our sovereign,
as the father of his people.

The same arbitrary house of commons, which violated the sacred right of election, and seated among themselves, as a representative of the people, a man who was never chosen into parliament, have, the last session, proceeded to the most extravagant outrages against the constitution of this kingdom and the liberty of the subject, of which your majesty is, by law, the great guardian. They have ventured to imprison our chief magistrate, and one of our aldermen,* for disobeying their illegal orders, and not violating the holy sanction of their oaths to this great city, as well as their duty to their country. They have, by the most artful suggestions, prevailed upon your majesty to suffer your royal name to give a pretended authority to a proclamation, issued at their express desire, contrary to the known laws of the land. At length they proceeded to the enormous

* Braith Crosby, esq. and alderman Oliver.

enormous wickedness of erasing a judicial record,† in order to stop the course of justice, and to frustrate all possibility of relief by an appeal to those laws, which are the noblest birth-right and inheritance of all the subjects of this realm.

During the unjust confinement of our representatives, they proceeded to a law, depriving the citizens of London of a considerable part of their property in the soil of the river Thames, solemnly granted to them by divers charters, and confirmed by the authority of parliament; and, under colour of equity, inserted in that law an unusual saving clause, subversive of the known and established laws of property: they have, without any pretence of an abuse, superseded the conservancy of the river Thames, in the liberty which the citizens of London have enjoyed from the conquest.

We,

† In the case of John Wilkes, esq.

We, therefore, your remonstrants, again humbly supplicate your majesty to restore our rights, and to give peace to this distracted nation, by a speedy dissolution of the parliament, and by removing your present wicked and despotic ministers for ever from your councils and presence.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 10th of July, 1771.

x p I shall ever be ready to exert my prerogative, as far as I can constitutionally, in redressing any real grievances of my subjects; and the city of London will always find me disposed to listen to any of their well-founded complaints: it is, therefore, with concern that I see a part of my subjects still so far misled and deluded, as to renew, in such reprehensible terms, a request, with which, I have repeatedly declared, I cannot comply.

TOWNSEND,

T O W N S E N D, Mayor.

*A common council holden in the chamber
of the Guildhall of the city of London, on
Thursday, the 4th day of February, 1773.*

*A motion being made, and question put, that
an humble address of congratulation be pre-
sented to his majesty, by this court, on the
safe deliv'ry of the queen, and the birth of
another prince, the same was unanimously
resolved in the affirmative: which address
was agreed to, as follows.*

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord-mayor, al-
dermen, and commons, of the city of
London, in common-council assembled.

Most

Most gracious sovereign,
YOUR majesty's loyal subjects, the
 lord-mayor, aldermen, and com-
 mons, of the city of London, in common-
 council assembled, approach your majesty
 with their congratulations on the happy
 delivery of their most amiable queen, and
 the birth of another prince.

Your faithful citizens of London, ever
 zealous for your majesty's happiness, and
 the true honour and prosperity of your
 reign, will continue to rejoice in every
 member which adds to your majesty's do-
 mestic felicity. And they hope that every
 branch of the august house of *Brunswick*
 will add farther security to those sacred
 laws and liberties, which their ancestors
 would not suffer to be violated with impu-
 nity; and which, in consequence of the
 glorious and necessary revolution, that il-
 lustrious house was called forth to protect
 and defend.

His

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of *Brunswick*
those sacred
eir ancestors
with impu-
nuence of the
tion, that il-
th to protect

His

*His majesty's answer, delivered the 5th day
of February, 1773.*

I thank you for this dutiful address,
and your congratulations on the happy de-
livery of the queen, and the birth of ano-
ther prince. The religion, laws, and li-
berties, of my people, have always been,
and ever shall be, the constant objects of
my care and attention.

TOWNSEND, Mayor.

*In a meeting, or assembly, of the lord-mayor, al-
dermen, and liverymen of the several compa-
nies of the city of London, in common-hall
assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city,
on Thursday, the 11th day of March,*

1773:

Mr.

Mr. William Bishop acquainted the livery, that, at a previous meeting of the livery, at the Half-moon tavern, in Cheapside, an address, remonstrance, and petition, to his majesty, was agreed to, and ordered to be laid before the livery, in common-hall assembled, for their approbation. And a motion was made, That the same be read; and, the question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative: whereupon the same was read and agreed to as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty,

The humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, beg

beg leave to approach the throne, with the respect becoming a free people, zealously attached to the laws and constitution of their country, and the parliamentary right of your majesty to the crown of these realms.

We desire, with all humility, in the grief and anguish of our hearts, to submit to your majesty, that the many grievances and injuries we have suffered from your ministers still remain unredressed; nor has the public justice of the kingdom received the least satisfaction for the frequent atrocious violations of the laws, which have been committed in your reign, by your ministers, with a daring contempt of every principle, human and divine. Your people have, with the deepest concern, observed, that their former humble petitions and remonstrances were received with a neglect and disregard, very hardly brooked by the high spirits of a great and powerful nation. But, the hopes of redress still encouraging us to persevere,

persevere, we again supplicate your majesty to listen to the voice of your aggrieved subjects, in vindication of your own and the nation's honour, against your despotic and corrupt ministers, who have perverted the fountains of public justice, and undermined the foundations of our excellent constitution. Our representatives, who were chosen to be the guardians of our rights, have invaded our most sacred privileges. The right of being represented in parliament is the inherent, unalienable, privilege, as well as peculiar glory, of the free-born inhabitants of this country; and a person, qualified by law, a magistrate of this city, was duly elected a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex, by a great majority of legal votes, yet has been excluded from the house of commons by a resolution of that house; and a candidate, who had only a few votes, declared the representative of the electors of the said county, against
their

their consent, through the like corrupt influence of the same minister. The chief magistrate and one of the aldermen of this city were imprisoned, for not obeying the illegal mandates of an arbitrary house of commons, and violating the solemn oaths they had taken for the preservation of the liberties and franchises of the capital of your majesty's dominions. We recall to your majesty's remembrance, with horror, that unparalleled act of tyranny, the erasing a judicial record, in order to stop the course of justice, to introduce a system of power against right, and to tear up, by the roots, truth and law from the earth.

We, therefore, your remonstrants, again supplicate your majesty to employ the only remedy now left by the constitution, the exercise of that salutary power with which you are entrusted by law, the dissolving of the present parliament, and the removal of those evil counsellors who advised

vised the measures so generally odious to the nation; and your majesty, as the true guardian of our rights, shall ever reign in the hearts of a grateful people.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 26th of March, 1773.

I have the satisfaction to think that my people do not doubt of my readiness to attend to their complaints, or of my ardent desire to promote their real happiness; which I cannot more effectually do, than by resisting every attempt to sow groundless jealousies among them.

Your petition is so void of foundation, and is, besides, conceived in such disrespectful terms, that I am convinced you do not, yourselves, seriously imagine it can be complied with.

Farther

*Proceedings to Enroll a List
for Candidates to represent the
City of London in Parliament*

*Farther proceedings of the common-hall, on
Thursday, the 11th of March, 1773.*

WE, the liverymen of London, in common-hall assembled, taking into our serious consideration the pernicious effects of long parliaments, and being convinced, that the most likely and effectual remedy, for the many grievances under which the people of this country have so long laboured, is to be found in a frequent appeal to the people by short parliaments, do resolve, That we will not vote for, countenance, or support, either directly or indirectly, any candidate, or candidates, to represent this city in parliament, until he have, previous to his standing forth as a candidate, solemnly assented to, and signed, an engagement for shortening the duration of parliaments.

Resolved,

Resolved, That: the engagement be in the words following :

The Test

for Candidates

to repre-

-sent the

City of

London in

Parliament.

" I, A. B. do most solemnly engage
" my word and honour, that, as long as
" I live, I will faithfully and sincerely en-
" deavour, to the utmost of my power,
" to promote and procure, and, having
" procured, to maintain and continue, a
" perpetual act of parliament, to shorten
" the duration of parliaments, and to re-
" store and preserve to the people their
" constitutional right of an annual, or, (if
" that cannot be obtained,) at least, a tri-
" ennial, choice of representatives ; and,
" if I am a member of either house of par-
" liament when a motion for the above
" purpose shall be made, I will not fail to
" attend, and give my utmost support to
" such motion."

Resolved that

TOWNSEND,

X " Annual Parliaments, or " more
" often if need be " are the unalienable
" Right of the People England, and
" ought to be obtained in preference
" to any other longer period " (in 1780)

See a subsequent Resolution of the
Committee of the London Common Council
expressed as above

T O W N S E N D, Mayor.

In a meeting, or assembly, of the mayor, and liverymen of the several companies, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of June, 1773:

A liveryman acquainted this common-hall, that, on the 24th of June last, the livery of this city, in common-hall assembled, had agreed to instructions to their representatives in parliament; which were now read: and, the question being put, That the said instructions be recorded, and that the town-clerk be ordered to enter the same, it was resolved in the affirmative, and ordered accordingly: which instructions are as follow.

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(in 1780)
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To Sir Robert Ladbroke, knight; the right honourable Thomas Harley, Barlow Trecothick, and Richard Oliver, esquires.

Gentlemen,

THE arbitrary strides of government, which seem daily increasing, to the prejudice of our liberties, cannot fail of alarming us in the most sensible manner. Such, indeed, is the dismal complexion of the times, that to the whole world we appear even on the brink of slavery.

To enumerate the several acts, which have sullied the present reign, would be much too tedious at present: suffice it, therefore, to say, that it is impossible for us to behold, with indifference, the laws of our country daringly trampled on, and the lives of innocent people wantonly taken away.

Had

Had this nation been blessed with a virtuous house of commons, we should by no means have experienced the oppression, which, for thirteen years past, we have unhappily laboured under. To long parliaments, therefore, and a venal majority, we may, with great justice, attribute the whole of our misfortunes. In what light can we behold a house of commons, which becomes so prostitute, as to be capable of voting a minority to be a majority? A house, which could, without the least colour of justice, tyrannically imprison a subject† between three and four months in a distempered jail, and inhumanly refuse him the same liberty which had been granted to two felons‡ accused of wilful murder? A house, which, devoid of all decency, could force the poor timid servant of a corporation to erase a judicial record? A house, that could even punish

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two

† Capt. Allen. ‡ The two Kennedies.

Had

two members of its own body, in a most arbitrary manner, for acting with integrity in a judicial capacity; nay, for adhering to their charters and their oaths, and virtuously administering justice? Indeed fatal experience hath taught us, that what was intended as a bulwark, in defence of our liberties, is now become a mere engine of oppression; and those weapons of defence, which have been intrusted into the hands of our representatives, to oppose the encroachments of the prerogative of the crown, have been infamously perverted to stab the vitals of the constitution.

When we made choice of you, sirs, to transact our business in parliament, we considered all of you to be possessed of fortune sufficient to render you independent; but, such is the depravity of the present age, that the more wealthy seem the easiest to be corrupted.

Although

Although some of you may have approved yourselves worthy of the confidence reposed in you, yet others, we are sorry to be obliged to observe, have been deficient in their duty. It becomes necessary, therefore, that we should exercise our indisputable right of instructing you, our representatives.

A worthy alderman of this city, whose political principles seem of the purest kind, and, as such, denote him a fit example for other members of the legislature, convinced of the extreme danger of entrusting any body of men with septennial powers, has more than once attempted to shorten the duration of parliaments: but with regret we reflect, that, out of five hundred and fifty members, not more than fourscore could at any time be found, possessed of virtue sufficient to support so salutary a measure. As we have

no doubt of Mr. Sawbridge's renewing his motion next winter, for the same laudable purpose, we do insist, that each of you afford him all possible support, in order to restore to us our ancient right of annually electing our representatives in parliament.

B U L L, Mayor.

A common-council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Thursday, the 3d day of March, 1774.

A motion being made, and question put, That an humble address of congratulation be presented to his majesty, by this court, on the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another prince, the same was resolved in the affirmative: which address was agreed to, as follows.

To

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord-mayor,
aldermen, and commons, of the city of
London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal
subjects, the lord-mayor, alder-
men, and commons, of your ancient city
of London, in common-council assem-
bled, beg leave to approach your ma-
jesty's sacred person, with our warmest
congratulations on the happy delivery of
our most excellent queen, and the auspi-
cious birth of another prince.

With gratitude to the divine goodness,
we behold the increase of your majesty's
august house, as it augments your ma-
jesty's domestic felicity, and gives a more
permanent security to the civil and reli-
gious liberties of your people.

To

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His

*His majesty's answer, delivered the 4th day of
March, 1774:*

I receive with pleasure this dutiful and affectionate address: your congratulations, and the sentiments which you express on the farther increase of my family, cannot fail of affording me great satisfaction.

B U L L, Mayor.

*A common-council holden in the chamber of the
Guildhall of the city of London, on Friday,
the 3d day of June, 1774.*

*A motion being made, and question put, That
this court do agree to petition the honour-
able house of commons, That the bill, now
depending before that honourable house, in-
titled, " An act for making more effectual
" provision for the government of the pro-
" vince of Quebec, in North America,"
may*

may not pass into a law, the same was resolved in the affirmative: which petition was agreed to, as follows.

To the honourable the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners are deeply concerned, and much alarmed, to find there is now a bill, depending before this honourable house, intituled; "An act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America:" which, in all civil cases, takes away the exercise of the English law, and that sacred part of it, the trial by jury, and substitutes in its stead the French law of Ca-

nada, whereby the freedom of the person and security of the property of his majesty's subjects are rendered precarious.

That, if this bill passes into a law, the Roman Catholic will be the only legal established religion, without any provision being made for the free exercise of the protestant religion; which may prove greatly injurious and oppressive to his majesty's protestant subjects, who do now, or may hereafter, reside in the said province.

That the legislative power is vested solely in persons appointed during pleasure by the crown; which is totally inconsistent with the liberty and principles of the English constitution.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, That the said bill may not pass into a law.

BULL,

B U L L, Mayor.

*A common-council holden in the chamber of
the Guildhall of the city of London, on Sa-
turday, the 18th day of June, 1774.*

*A motion being made, and question put, That
this court do agree to apply to his majesty,
by address and petition, praying, That his
majesty will be pleased not to give his royal
assent to the bill entitled, " An act for ma-
king more effectual provision for the go-
vernment of the province of Quebec, in
North America," the same was unani-
mously resolved in the affirmative: which
address and petition was agreed to, as fol-
lows.*

D 6

To

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address and petition of the
lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons,
of the city of London, in common-
council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and
loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, al-
dermen, and commons, of the city of
London, in common-council assembled,
are exceedingly alarmed, that a bill has
passed your two houses of parliament, in-
titled, " An act for making more effec-
tual provision for the government of
the province of Quebec, in North A-
merica;" which we apprehend to be
entirely subversive of the great fundamen-
tal principles of the constitution of the
British monarchy, as well as of the autho-
rity of various solemn acts of the legisla-
ture.

We

We beg leave to observe, that the English law, and that wonderful effort of human wisdom, the trial by jury, are not admitted, by this bill, in any civil cases; and the French law of Canada is imposed on all the inhabitants of that extensive province: by which both the persons and properties of very many of your majesty's subjects are rendered insecure and precarious.

We humbly conceive, that this bill, if passed into a law, will be contrary, not only to the compact entered into with the numerous settlers of the reformed religion, who were invited into the said province under the sacred promise of enjoying the benefit of the laws of your realm of England, but likewise repugnant to your royal proclamation, of the 7th of October, 1763, for the speedy settling the said new government.

That,

We

That, consistent with the public faith, pledged by the said proclamation, your majesty cannot erect and constitute courts of judicature and public justice, for the hearing and determining all cases, as well civil as criminal, within the said province, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England: nor can any laws, statutes, or ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good-government, of the said province, be made, constituted, and ordained, but according to the laws of this realm.

That the Roman Catholic religion, which is known to be idolatrous and bloody, is established by this bill; and no legal provision is made for the free exercise of our reformed faith, nor the security of our protestant fellow-subjects, of the church of England, in the true worship of almighty God according to their consciences.

That

That your majesty's illustrious family was called to the throne of these kingdoms, in consequence of the exclusion of the Roman Catholic ancient branch of the Stuart line, under the express stipulation that they should profess the protestant religion : and, according to the oath established, by the sanction of parliament, in the first year of the reign of our great deliverer, king William the third, your majesty, at your coronation, solemnly swore, that you would, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion established by law.

That, although the term of imprisonment of the subject is limited to three months, the power of fining is left indefinite and unrestrained ; by which the total ruin of the party may be effected, by an enormous and excessive fine.

That

That the whole legislative power of the province is vested in persons to be solely appointed by your majesty, and removable at your pleasure ; which we apprehend to be repugnant to the leading principles of this free constitution, by which alone your majesty now holds, or legally can hold, the imperial crown of these realms.

That the said bill was brought into parliament very late in the present session, and after the greater number of the members of the two houses were retired into the country ; so that it cannot fairly be presumed to be the sense of those parts of the legislature.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly supplicate your majesty, as the guardian of the laws, liberties, and religion, of your people, and as the great bulwark
of

of the protestant faith, That you will not give your royal assent to the said bill :

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

The king's answer, delivered by the right honourable the earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain to the king, the 22d day of June, 1774.

As your petition relates to a bill agreed on by the two houses of parliament, of which his majesty cannot take public notice until it is presented to him for his royal assent in parliament, I am commanded by the king to inform you, that you are not to expect an answer.

WILKES,

W I L K E S, Mayor.

A common-council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Tuesday, the 31st day of January, 1775.

This day, Mr. Alderman Bull presented unto this court a letter, which he had lately received from Francis Maseres, esq. agent to the protestant settlers in the province of Quebec: which was read in these words.

Inner Temple, London, Jan. 16, 1775.

Sir,

HIS majesty's ancient and loyal subjects, the protestant settlers in the province of Quebec, (who have done me the honour to appoint me their agent for their public concerns in England,) have lately sent me instructions, to express to you, and to the court of aldermen, and the common-council, of the city of London,

London, their most sincere and hearty thanks, for the great mark of fraternal regard and affection which you some time since testified towards them, by your address to the king's most gracious majesty, intreating him to refuse his royal assent to the bill for the government of the said province.

They express very strong apprehensions of the mischiefs that must attend the operation of this bill; and they more especially lament the abolition of those most valuable parts of the English law, which relate to the protection of personal liberty by means of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and of those which establish the trial by jury in civil cases: which abolition they conceive to be involved in those very general words of the new act, which direct, "That, in all matters of property and civil rights, resort shall be had to the laws of Canada, and not to the laws of England."

This

This total expulsion of the laws of England, and total restoration of the laws of Canada, in civil matters, which is so grievous to themselves, they alledge to have been no way necessary to the satisfaction of the Canadians; but, on the contrary, they declare, that the majority of those new subjects of his majesty have rather expressed a liking for the general body of the laws of England, since they have had experience of them, than a wish to see their former laws restored; having enjoyed, and being always ready to acknowledge they have enjoyed, a greater degree of liberty for their persons, security for their property, and encouragement to the exertion of their industry in trade and agriculture, since the introduction of the laws of England into the province, than ever they had known before; together with what they value, perhaps, more than all the rest, an exemption from the insolent
and

and capricious treatment of their former superiors. And, in pursuance of this favourable opinion entertained by them of the English laws, great numbers of them were last year disposed, as my correspondents assure me in the most positive terms, to join with the English inhabitants of the province in petitioning his majesty for the continuance of the English laws, and were only deterred from so doing by false alarms, spread among them by their superiors, concerning the dangers to which their religion would be exposed, if they joined with the English in any public representations.

The passage of the letter of my correspondents, in which they relate this important fact, is so remarkable, that I beg leave to transcribe the very words of it : they are as follow. “ In justice to the
 “ bulk of the Canadian inhabitants, who
 “ have formerly smarted under the rigour
 “ of

“ of the French government, and the ca-
 “ price of petty tyrants of those days,
 “ we must confess, that they prefer infi-
 “ nitely English law, which secures their
 “ liberty and property, and gives a free
 “ scope to their industry, and dread fal-
 “ ling again under the laws and customs
 “ of Canada. This we declare upon our
 “ certain knowledge, as very great num-
 “ bers throughout the province have of-
 “ fered to join us in petitioning for the
 “ continuance of English laws, and
 “ disavowing their consent, privity, or
 “ knowledge, of the petition that was
 “ sent home last year in their names,
 “ though signed only by a few persons in
 “ the province : but, when we had pre-
 “ pared a paper, at their desire, for them
 “ to sign, expressing these well-known
 “ facts, they informed us, that they were
 “ with-held by their superiors, and com-
 “ manded not to join the English in any
 “ public representations ; for, if they did,
 “ they

“ they were assured, that they would infal-
 “ libly be deprived of their religion ; but,
 “ if they remained quiet, they might de-
 “ pend upon it, that the English laws
 “ would not be changed.”

From this state of the sentiments of the
 majority of the Canadians, it is evident,
 that it was by no means necessary to their
 satisfaction that the whole body of the
 French laws upon civil matters should be
 revived, and the English laws upon those
 subjects suppressed ; but that, on the con-
 trary, that great and valuable end might
 have been better obtained, by reviving or
 confirming only such parts of the former
 French laws as related to the tenures of
 land, the manner of conveying and set-
 tling it, and the transmission of it to new
 possessors, by dower and inheritance, upon
 the death of its owners, and perhaps a few
 other heads of French law that might be
 necessary to their domestic peace and fa-
 mily

mily concerns ; to which revival of such parts only of the French laws, the British and protestant settlers have often declared, and do now again declare on this occasion, that they should not have had the least objection.

And my correspondents farther direct me to inform you, that, though they are pleased to see that the criminal laws of England have been permitted by the late act to continue in the province, they are nevertheless uneasy at the extensive powers of altering those laws, and making new ones, upon those high and important subjects, which are vested by it in a legislative council of a very dependent constitution ; and they particularly lament, that this legislative council, dependent as it is, is not established for a few years only, till it may be found convenient to summon an assembly of the province, but is appointed for an indefinite length of time, as if it were

were intended to be the permanent mode of government in that country.

And, in the last place, they express their concern at observing, that, though the popish religion is established in the province, by the clause in the late act which compels the Roman Catholic inhabitants to pay to their priests the tithes that were formerly due to them, (which, in consequence of sir Jeffery Amherst's express refusal of the French general's demand in that behalf, at the time of the capitulation and surrender of the whole country, in September, 1760, they have not hitherto been obliged by law to do,) yet no provision is made in it for the encouragement of the protestant religion. These considerations, they say, fill their minds with melancholy apprehensions of the evils that may arise from the malignant principles and overbearing spirit of the Romish church, when elated by these marks of public favour.

E

They,

They, therefore, take the liberty humbly to intreat the lord-mayor, and the court of aldermen, and common-council, of this great city, to exert themselves once more in their behalf, by recommending it to the worthy members, who represent them in parliament, to use their utmost endeavours to recover and confirm the civil and religious rights of no inconsiderable number of honest and enterprising subjects of the crown, who have been induced, by the royal proclamation of October, 1763, to settle in that distant country, and to risk their lives and fortunes there with chearfulness and confidence, under the most solemn promise of enjoying in it, immediately, the benefit of the laws of England, and, in due time, that of a provincial assembly, with the usual powers of legislation.

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These, sir, are the sentiments which I am authorised to express to you, and to the respectable corporation of the city of London, upon this subject, by the committee of the protestant settlers in the province of Quebec, whose names are these that follow.

James Price,	John Aitkin,
Randle Meredith,	John Welles,
John Blake,	John Lees,
Isaac Todd,	Zachary Mac Aulay.
Thomas Walker,	

To these sentiments of my constituents I beg leave to add a few words, concerning an event, which I am informed has lately happened, and which bears a near relation to them; I mean the public declaration which has been made, at a meeting of the American merchants, by a gentleman connected with government, concerning some resolutions already taken upon this sub-

jeſt : for, according to this declaration, it
 appears, that the wiſdom and equity of his
 majeſty's miniſters have anticipated the
 wiſhes of the proteſtant ſettlers in the pro-
 vince of Quebec, with reſpect to two of the
 points above complained of, (the abolition
 of the laws concerning the writ of Habeas
 Corpus, and concerning the trial by jury in
 civil caſes,) and have induced them to direct
 a draught of an ordinance to be prepared
 here in England, under their own inſpec-
 tion, by a gentleman of great abilities, in
 order to be ſent to Quebec, and paſſed into
 an ordinance by the legislative council of
 the province, for re-eſtabliſhing thoſe two
 important branches of the Engliſh law.
 This proceeding, at the ſame time that it
 gives a ſanction to the deſires of my con-
 ſtituents upon thoſe ſubjects, affords a
 proof of the uprightness and candour of his
 majeſty's miniſters, and the purity of their
 intentions with reſpect to this province,
 inſomuch that I cannot but indulge myſelf
 in

in the hope, that they will be easily prevailed on to go one step farther in this good work, and gratify my constituents in the manner as well as the matter of their requests, by promoting the establishment of these important points by an act of parliament to enlarge and amend the former act, instead of an ordinance of the legislative council, to the end that all the inhabitants of the province, both French and English, Roman Catholics and Protestants, may have the same solid and satisfactory security of an act of parliament, for the enjoyment of these great foundations of their civil liberty, as has been granted to the Roman Catholic inhabitants for the free exercise of their religion and the legal maintenance of their clergy.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

FRANCIS MASERES.

E 3

WILKES,

W I L K E S, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildball of the city of London, on Friday, the 10th day of February, 1775.

Mr. Alderman Kirkman reported, from the committee, appointed, the thirty-first day of January last, to draw up an answer to a letter presented unto this court by Mr. Alderman Bull, which he had lately received from Francis Maseres, esq. agent to the protestant settlers in the province of Quebec, That the said committee had prepared an answer, which he delivered into this court: and the same was read, and agreed to, in the following words.

To the honourable Mr. Baron Maseres,
agent to the protestant settlers in the
province of Quebec.

Sir,

Sir,

THE lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, in answer to your letter communicated by Mr. Alderman Bull, desire that you will be pleased to acquaint the committee of the protestant settlers of the province of Quebec, for whom you are agent, that nothing in the power of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council, shall be wanting towards promoting so desirable a purpose, as the obtaining redress, respecting the late Quebec act, for the protestant settlers in Canada, whose complaints against that law are manifestly founded in justice and reason.

The pernicious tendency of the Quebec act is sufficiently evident to all persons of impartiality and discernment; and it is therefore easy to conceive, agreeable to the representation made by your constitu-

E 4

ents,

Sir,

ents, that the majority of the inhabitants of Canada, even those professing the Roman Catholic religion, could not have been desirous of such a law. Men, who were born under an arbitrary government, but who were afterwards happily placed in a state of freedom, must have been void of understanding, and destitute of the common feelings of human nature, if they had been desirous of again returning to the unhappy situation of those who are subjected to despotic laws. And it cannot excite any surprise that deceit and misrepresentation were employed, to render the inhabitants of Canada silent and acquiescent, when measures were concerting so prejudicial to their best and greatest interests.

The scheme, that is said to be in agitation, of granting to the inhabitants of Canada the privileges of trial by jury in civil cases and of the writ of Habeas Corpus, to be ordained by a legislative council, holding

holding their seats at the will of the crown, (an institution, of which the history of our country furnishes no precedent but in the most arbitrary times,) is evidently not such a security as British subjects are entitled to: privileges, of so important a nature, ought to be held by an authority truly legal, and not depend for their continuance on royal will and pleasure, which is a tenure totally inconsistent with the genius and spirit of the British constitution. The power of abrogating old laws, and of making new, is of too great importance to be possessed by any man, or by any body of men, unless such as are elected by the people themselves, and whom they think proper to constitute as their delegates and trustees.

We pray you, sir, particularly to express to your constituents our sincere concern, at seeing, that, by the authority of the British parliament, it is enacted:

E 5

“ That

“ That his majesty’s subjects, professing
 “ the religion of the church of Rome,
 “ may have, hold, and enjoy, the free
 “ exercise of their religion; and that the
 “ clergy of the said church may hold, re-
 “ ceive, and enjoy, their accustomed
 “ dues and rights:” at the same time
 that, as far as depends on the provisions
 of that act, the protestant religion is even
 untolerated.

As the lord-mayor, aldermen, and
 common-council, of the city of London,
 are zealous to preserve their own liberties,
 and those of their country, and to transmit
 them undiminished and unimpaired to pos-
 terity, so it is their earnest desire, that the
 blessing of freedom may be enjoyed by the
 inhabitants of every part of the British em-
 pire; and you may assure the committee
 of the protestant settlers of the province of
 Quebec, that the representatives of the
 city of London in parliament, who are all
 members

members of this court, have been, and will be, requested to use their utmost endeavours to procure a repeal of the late Quebec act : an act, which is equally repugnant to the principles of British law and British liberty, inconsistent with equity and justice, and contrary to every principle of sound policy.

Resolved, That this court doth request the members who serve for this city in parliament, and such other members of this court as are members of parliament, to use their endeavours for a repeal of the act of parliament, passed last sessions, intituled, " An act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America."



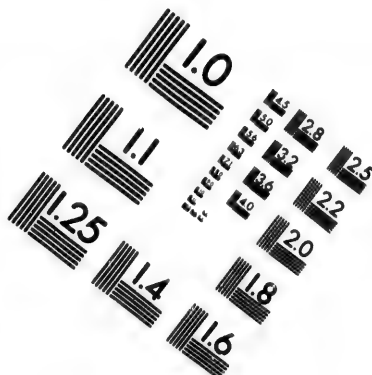
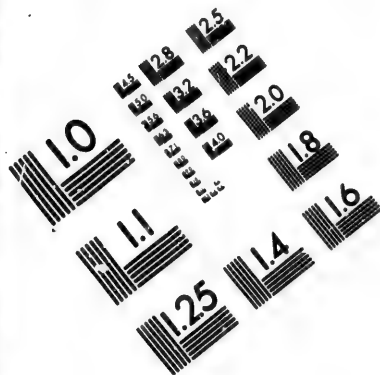
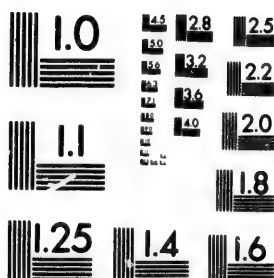


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W I L K E S, Mayor.

*A common-council holden, in the chamber
of the Guildball of the city of London, on
Monday, the 13th day of February,
1775.*

RESOLVED, That the present situation of our public affairs, in consequence of the severe proceedings against the American colonies, is so exceedingly alarming, that it is the duty of this court to use every possible endeavour to prevent all farther oppression, and to obtain relief to so numerous and valuable a part of our fellow-subjects.

Resolved, That, as a bill is proposed to be brought into parliament, to prohibit the New-England fishery, which, if complied with, may materially injure the commercial

commercial interests of this city, and of the kingdom in general, the lord-mayor be requested by this court to convene the same, to consider, Whether it may not be the duty of this court to petition parliament against the proposed bill, the principles of which, so far as they have been hitherto declared, appear to be repugnant both to justice and the true interests of the British empire.

W I L K E S, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Tuesday, the 21st day of February, 1775.

The right honourable the lord-mayor laid before this court a printed copy of a bill, now depending in the honourable house of commons, intituled, " A bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts."

" ebuseys-bay and New-Hampshire, and
 " colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-
 " island, and Providence plantation, in
 " North-America, to Great-Britain, Ire-
 " land, and the British islands in the West-
 " Indies; and to prohibit such provinces
 " and colonies from carrying on any fishery
 " on the banks of Newfoundland, or other
 " places therein to be mentioned, under
 " certain conditions, and for a time to be
 " limited;" and the said bill was read.

70
7 moved by James Sharp
RESOLVED, That the measures of
 administration, respecting our fel-
 low-subjects in America, adopted by the
 late parliament, appear to this court in the
 highest degree dangerous and alarming,
 and demand our most serious attention.

moved by James Sharp
 Resolved, That, as the opinion of this
 court hath already been very fully and par-
 ticularly declared, against an act of the
 late parliament, entitled, " An act for the
 " making more effectual provision for the
 " government

" government of the province of Québec,
 " in North-America," we think it equally
 our duty to bear testimony, also, against
four other acts of the said parliament,
which we esteem highly injurious to our
fellow-subjects in America : viz. An act,
 intituled, " An act for the better regula-
 " ting the government of the province of
 " the Massachusetts-bay, in New-England;"
 and also an act, intituled, " An act for the
 " impartial administration of justice, in
 " the cases of persons questioned for any
 " acts done by them, in the execution of
 " the law, or for the suppression of riots
 " and tumults, in the province of the Mas-
 " sachusetts-bay, in New-England ;" and
 also an act, intituled, " An act to disconti-
 " nue, in such manner and for such time
 " as are therein mentioned, the landing
 " and discharging, lading or shipping, of
 " goods, wares, and merchandizes, at
 " the town, and within the harbour, of
 " Boston, in the province of Massachu-
 " sets-

“ sets-bay, in North-America;” and also an act, entitled, “ An act for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty’s service in North-America:” they appearing to this court to be not only contrary to many of the fundamental principles of the English constitution and most essential rights of the subject, but also apparently inconsistent with natural justice and equity; and we are therefore of opinion, that our fellow-subjects, the Americans, are justified in every constitutional opposition to the said act. *See p 108 (city 83) Lex Br.*

A motion was made, and question put, That the bill, depending in parliament, intituled, “ A bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts-bay, &c.” be referred to a committee, to consider whether there are any parts thereof which may be proper for this court to oppose, and report the same to this
COURT

court on Thursday morning next: the same was unanimously resolved in the affirmative, and a committee was appointed accordingly.

W I L K E S, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildball of the city of London, on Thursday, the 23d day of February, 1775.

The committee, appointed by this court, the twenty-first instant, to consider whether there are any parts in the bill, depending in parliament, intituled, "A bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts-bay and New-Hampshire, &c." which may be proper for this court to oppose, did this day deliver into this court a report in writing, under their hands: which was read in these words.

To

To the right honourable the lord-mayor,
aldermen, and commons, of the city of
London, in common-council assembled.

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, your committee, appointed by this honourable court, the twenty-first instant, to consider whether there are any parts in the bill, depending in parliament, intituled, " A bill to restrain the
" trade and commerce of the province of
" Massachusetts - bay and New-Hamp-
" shire, &c." which may be proper for this court to oppose, and to report the same to this court on this morning, do humbly certify, that we have met for that purpose; and, having had the said bill several times read, and duly considered the same, are of opinion, That the following parts in the said bill may be proper for this court to oppose.

I. So

I. So much of the principles of the said bill as prohibit such provinces and colonies for carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited.

II. Page v. clause 10. Whereby the North Americans are restrained from importing wine, salt, &c. except horses, victuals, and linen cloth, the produce and manufacture of Ireland, imported directly from thence.

III. Page v. clause 11. Because it gives a power to his majesty's officers, by land and sea, to license smuggling.

IV. Page vi. clause 13. Because it prevents any subject of Great-Britain and Ireland, or any different province, from being part-owner of any American ship or vessel, allowed, by the said act, to carry on the fishery.

V.

V. Page viii. clause 18. Because it vests an undue authority in the governor and council of Massachusetts-bay over the provinces therein mentioned, all which we submit to this honourable court, this 23d day of February, 1775.

William Hurford, Frederick Bull,
 Thomas Hyde, John Sawbridge,
 James Sharp, Richard Oliver,
 Edward Tutet, George Bellas,
 Thomas Harrifon, William Saxby,
 William Stone, Edward House,

And a motion being made, and question put, That this court do agree with the committee in their said report, the same was resolved in the affirmative.

Another motion was made, and question put, That it be referred to the committee to withdraw immediately, to draw up a petition to the honourable house of commons

commons against the said bill: the same was resolved in the affirmative.

And the said committee withdrew accordingly; and, returning again into court, presented a draught of a petition by them prepared; which, being twice read, and some amendments made thereto, was unanimously agreed to, in the following words.

To the honourable the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled,

Sheweth,

TH A T, although your petitioners bear all due respect to the policy of those acts of parliament which have anciently preserved to Great-Britain a necessary and beneficial share of commerce with
our

our colonies, yet they are exceedingly alarmed at the consequences that must ensue, if the bill, now depending in this honourable house, should pass into a law, entitled, " A bill to restrain the trade and
 " commerce of Massachusetts-bay and
 " New-Hampshire, and colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-island, and Providence plantation, in North America, to
 " Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British
 " isles in the West-Indies; and to prohibit
 " such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be
 " mentioned, under certain conditions,
 " and for a time to be limited : " the said bill, as your petitioners conceive, being unjustly founded, because it involves the whole in the punishment intended for the supposed offence of a few.

That it must, in its consequences, overwhelm thousands of his majesty's subjects with

with the utmost poverty and distress, inasmuch as they will be thereby deprived of the fisheries which are the natural means of supporting themselves and families.

That the extensive commerce between Great-Britain and her colonies will, by this bill, be greatly injured, as a capital source of remittance will be stopped; which will not only disconnect the future commercial intercourse between those colonies and this country, but it will eventually render them incapable of paying the large debts already due to the merchants of this city.

9 That the utmost confusion will probably ensue from enforcing this bill, if passed into a law; as it cannot be supposed that a great number of men, naturally hardy and brave, will quietly submit to a law which will reduce them almost to famine, they not having within themselves provisions sufficient for their subsistence.

That

That it will induce the French to extend their fisheries, and by that means increase the wealth and strength of our rivals in trade, to the great prejudice of this country.

That your petitioners feel for the many hardships which their fellow-subjects in America already labour under, from the execution of several late acts of parliament, evidently partial and oppressive, and which seem to be extended and continued by this bill, inasmuch as it confirms those acts, which, in particular cases, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, prohibits the inhabitants from carrying provision from one colony to another, invites a contraband trade under military protections, prevents any subject of Great-Britain or Ireland from being part-owner of certain American ships or vessels, and vests an undue and dangerous authori-

ty

ty in the governor and council of Massachusets-bay.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray this honourable house, That the said bill may not pass into a law.

W I L K E S, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Tuesday, the 14th day of March, 1775.

The right honourable the lord-mayor acquainted this court, That he had called them together to consider of a petition to the house of lords, against a bill, now depending, intituled, " An act to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusets-bay, &c." and, a motion being made, and question put, That this court do agree to petition the right honourable the house of lords

F

against

against the said bill, the same was resolved in the affirmative: which petition is as follows.

To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled,

Sheweth, *It is humbly shewed that*

THAT your petitioners conceive, that the bill, now depending in this honourable house, intituled, “ An act to restrain the trade and commerce of the
“ province of Massachusetts-bay and New-Hampshire, and colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-island, and Providence plantation, in North - America, to
“ Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from
“ carrying on any fishery on the banks of
“ Newfoundland,

“ Newfoundland, or other places therein
“ mentioned, under certain conditions
“ and limitations,” will, if passed into a
law, be of most pernicious tendency, and
dangerous in its consequence to the inter-
est and commerce both of Great-Britain
and her colonies.

Your petitioners humbly apprehend,
that, if the said bill should be passed into
a law, the trading vessels of his majesty’s
subjects will be, in a most unconstitutional
manner, subjected to the discretion and
controul of military power, and that the
general principles of the said bill are re-
pugnant to equity and the rights of British
subjects.

Your petitioners apprehend, that the
design of the said bill, to deprive the in-
habitants of Massachusetts-bay and New-
Hampshire, and colonies of Connecticut
and Rhode-island, and Providence planta-
tion, in North-America, of the liberty of

fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, is
 contrary to every principle of humanity
 and policy, that it is highly injurious to
 our North-American fellow-subjects, and
 prohibits the most beneficial means of carry-
 ing on the Newfoundland fishery; a trade,
 affording to this country the greatest com-
 mercial advantages: and the said bill tends
 to throw that important fishery into the hands
 of a powerful commercial rival, for whom
 a careful and especial provision is made by
 this bill, whilst common justice is denied
 to British subjects.

Your petitioners farther apprehend,
 that leaving the operation or suspension of
 an act of parliament to depend on the dis-
 cretion of any governor is a most alarming
 violation of the principles of the British
 constitution; and, though there hath been
 an instance of this in some late acts, yet
 your petitioners conceive it to be highly
 unwarrantable and dangerous.

Your

Your petitioners humbly apprehend, that, if the said bill should pass into a law, it can have no other effect than to widen that unhappy breach which now subsists between the colonies and the mother country, and may, therefore, be productive of the most dangerous consequences to both.

The supreme legislative authority of this free country cannot be founded on arbitrary power, but is itself limited to preserve the constitutional rights of every part of the British empire.

The American colonies have contributed inestimable benefits to this country, because they derive from the constitution of England, and have participated with us, the enjoyments of free subjects, restricted only by wise regulations of trade, from which Ireland and America have promoted the general prosperity of the British empire,

Your

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and

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Warren

(See Note
p 48
62.

and thence received the protection of Great-Britain. And your petitioners presume to add, that oppressive measures, respecting the colonies, must eventually be highly pernicious to Great-Britain, which has been brought to its present dignity and splendour by the freedom of its constitution, and its adherence to equity and humanity, but may be reduced to destruction by measures founded on injustice and despotism.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, That the said bill may not pass into a law.

W I L K E S, Mayor.

In a meeting, or assembly, of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the several companies, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city,

city, on Wednesday, the 5th day of April,
1775:

A motion was made, and question put, That an humble address, remonstrance, and petition, be presented to his majesty, from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, against the measures adopted with respect to America: the same was resolved in the affirmative: and, an humble address, remonstrance, and petition, to his majesty, being presented, a motion was made, That the same be read: and, the question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative: whereupon the same was read, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled.

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Most

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, beg leave to approach the throne, and to declare our abhorrence of the measures, which have been pursued, and are now pursuing, to the oppression of our fellow-subjects in America. These measures are big with all the consequences which can alarm a free and commercial people: a deep, and perhaps fatal, wound to commerce; the ruin of manufactures; the diminution of the revenue, and consequent increase of taxes; the alienation of the colonies; and the blood of your majesty's subjects.

But your petitioners look with less horror at the consequences than at the purpose of these measures: not deceived by the specious artifice of calling despotism dignity,

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 a timely
 Warning
 of
 future
 Events

dignity, they plainly perceive that the real purpose is to establish arbitrary power over all America.

Your petitioners conceive the liberties of the whole to be inevitably connected with those of every part of an empire, founded on the common rights of mankind; they cannot, therefore, observe, without the greatest concern and alarm, the constitution fundamentally violated in any part of your majesty's dominion: they esteem it an essential, unalterable, principle of liberty, the source and security of all constitutional rights, that no part of the dominion can be taxed without being represented. Upon this great leading principle they must ardently wish to see their fellow-subjects in America secured in what their humble petition to your majesty prays for, peace, liberty, and safety. Subordination in commerce, under which the colonies have always chearfully acquiesced, is, they con-

ceive, all that this country ought in justice to require ; from this subordination such advantages flow, by all the profits of their commerce centering here, as fully compensate this nation for the expence incurred, to which they also contribute, in men and money, for their defence and protection during a general war ; and, in their provincial wars, they have manifested their readiness and resolution to defend themselves : to require more of them would, for this reason, derogate from the justice and magnanimity, which have been hitherto the pride and character of this country.

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It is, therefore, with the deepest concern that we have seen the sacred security of representation in their assemblies wrested from them ; the trial by jury abolished, and the odious powers of excise extended to all cases of revenue ; the sanctuary of their houses laid open to violation

at

at the will and pleasure of every officer and servant in the customs; the dispensation of justice corrupted, by rendering their judges dependent, for their seats and salaries, on the will of the crown; liberty and life rendered precarious, by subjecting them to be dragged over the ocean, and tried for treason or felony here, where the distance, making it impossible for the most guiltless to maintain his innocence, must deliver him up a victim to ministerial vengeance; soldiers, and others, in America, have been instigated to shed the blood of the people, by establishing a mode of trial which holds out impunity for such murder; the capital of New-England has been punished with unexampled rigour, untried and unheard, involving the innocent and the suspected in one common and inhuman calamity; chartered rights have been taken away, without any forfeiture proved, in order to deprive the people of every legal exertion against the

11
 tyranny of their rulers; the Habeas Corpus act and trial by jury have been suppressed, and French despotic government, with the Roman Catholic religion, have been established, by law, over an extensive part of your majesty's dominions in America: dutiful petitions, for redress of these grievances, from all your majesty's American subjects, have been fruitless.

To fill up the measure of these oppressions, an army has been sent to enforce them: superadded to this, measures are now planned upon the most merciless policy of starving our fellow-subjects into a total surrender of their liberties, and an unlimited submission to arbitrary government.

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 These grievances have driven your majesty's faithful subjects to despair, and compelled them to have recourse to that resistance which is justified by the great principles of the constitution; actuated by which, at the glorious period of the revolution,

lution, our ancestors transferred the imperial crown of these realms, from the Popish and tyrannic race of the Stuarts, to the illustrious and Protestant house of Brunswick.

City of London p. 83

Your petitioners are persuaded, that these measures originate in the secret advice of men, who are enemies equally to your majesty's title and the liberties of your people; that your majesty's ministers carry them into execution by the same fatal corruption which has enabled them to wound the peace and violate the constitution of this country; thus they poison the fountain of public security, and render that body, which should be the guardian of liberty, a formidable instrument of arbitrary power.

Your petitioners do, therefore, most earnestly beseech your majesty, to dismiss, immediately and for ever, from your councils, these ministers and advisers, as
the

the first step towards a full redress of those grievances which alarm and afflict your whole people: so shall peace and commerce be restored, and the confidence and affection of all your majesty's subjects be the solid supporters of your throne.

His majesty's answer to the said address.

It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended, for the support of the constitutional rights of Great-Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms.

WILKES,

W I L K E S, Mayor.

A common-council bolden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Friday, the 23d day of June, 1775, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of king George the third of Great-Britain, &c.

The right honourable the lord-mayor having received a letter, from the general committee of association for the city and county of New-York, addressed to the right honourable the lord-mayor, the aldermen, and common-council, of the city of London, his lordship delivered the same into this court; and it was read, as follows.

COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAMBER.

New-York, May, 1775.

My lord and gentlemen,

DISTINGUISHED as you are by your noble exertions in the cause of liberty, and deeply interested in the expiring commerce of the empire, you necessarily command the most respectful attention. The general committee of association, for the city and county of New-York, beg leave, therefore, to address you, and the capital of the British empire, through its magistrates, on the subject of American wrongs. Born to the bright inheritance of English freedom, the inhabitants of this extensive continent can never submit to the ignominious yoke, nor move in the galling fetters, of slavery. The disposal of their own property, with perfect spontaneity, and in a manner wholly divested of every appearance of constraint,

is

is their indefeasible birthright. This exalted blessing they are resolutely determined to defend with their blood, and transfer it uncontaminated to their posterity.

You will not, then, wonder at their early jealousy of the design to erect, in this land of liberty, a despotism, scarcely to be paralleled in the pages of antiquity, or the volumes of modern times: a despotism, consisting in power assumed, by the representatives of a part of his majesty's subjects, at their sovereign will and pleasure, to strip the rest of their property. And what are the engines of administration to execute this destructive project? The duty on tea; oppressive restraints on the commerce of the colonies; the blockade of the port of Boston; the change of internal police in the Massachusetts-bay and Quebec; the establishment of Popery in the latter; the extension of its bounds; the ruin of our Indian commerce, by regulations

lations calculated to aggrandize that arbitrary government ; unconstitutional admiralty jurisdictions throughout the colonies ; the invasion of our right to a trial, in the most capital cases, by a jury of the vicinage ; the horrid contrivance to screen from punishment the bloody executioners of ministerial vengeance ; and, not to mention the rest of the black catalogue of our grievances, the hostile operations of an army, who have already shed the blood of our countrymen. The struggles, excited by the detestable stamp-act, have so lately demonstrated to the world that Americans will not be slaves, that we stand astonished at the gross impolicy of the minister. Recent experience had evinced, that the possessors of this extensive continent would never submit to a tax by pretext of legislative authority in Britain : disguise, therefore, became the expedient. In pursuit of the same end, parliament declared their absolute supremacy over

ver the colonies ; and have already endeavoured to exercise that supremacy, in attempting to raise a revenue, under the specious pretence of providing for their good government and defence. Administration, to exhibit a degree of moderation purely ostensible and delusory, while they withdrew their hands from our most necessary articles of importation, determined with an eager grasp to hold the duty on tea, as a badge of their taxative power. Zealous, on our part, for an indissoluble union with the parent state ; studious to promote the glory and happiness of the empire ; impressed with a just sense of the necessity of a controuling authority, to regulate and harmonize the discordant commercial interests of its various parts ; we cheerfully submit to a regulation of commerce, by the legislature of the parent state, excluding, in its nature, every idea of taxation.

Whither,

Whither, therefore, the present machinations of arbitrary power infallibly tend, you may easily judge: if unremittingly pursued, as they were inhumanly devised, they will, by a fatal necessity, terminate in a total dissolution of the empire.

The subjects of this country will not, we trust, be deceived by any measures, conciliatory in appearance, while it is evident that the minister aims at a solid revenue, to be raised by grievous and oppressive acts of parliament, and by fleets and armies employed to enforce their execution. They never will, we believe, submit to an auction in the colonies for the more effectual augmentation of the revenue, by holding it up, as a temptation to them, that the highest bidders shall enjoy the greatest share of governmental favour. This plan, as it would tend to sow the seeds of discord, would be far more dangerous than hostile force; in which we hope

hope the king's troops will ever be, as they have already been, unsuccessful. Instead of those unusual, extraordinary, and unconstitutional, modes of procuring levies from the subject, should his majesty graciously be pleased, upon suitable emergencies, to make requisitions in the ancient form, the colonies have expressed their willingness to contribute to the support of the empire; but to contribute of their voluntary gift, as Englishmen: and, when our unexampled grievances are redressed, our prince will find his American subjects testifying, on all proper occasions, by as ample aids as their circumstances will permit, the most unshaken fidelity to their sovereign, and inviolable attachment to the welfare of his realm and dominions. Permit us farther to assure you, that America is grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock, in any part, is, by the most powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent.

tinent. That Pennsylvania, Maryland,
 and New-York, have already stopped their
 exports to the fishing-islands, and those co-
 lonies, which, at this dangerous juncture,
 have refused to unite with their brethren
 in the common cause; and all supplies to
 the navy and army at Boston; and that
 probably the day is at hand when our
 continental congress will totally shut up
 our ports. The minions of power here
 may now inform administration, if they
 can ever speak the language of truth, that
 this city is as one man in the cause of liber-
 ty; that, to this end, our inhabitants are
 almost unanimously bound by the enclosed
 association; that it is continually advan-
 cing to perfection by additional subscrip-
 tions; that they are resolutely bent on
 supporting their committee, and the in-
 tended provincial and continental congres-
 ses; that there is not the least doubt of the
 efficacy of their example in the other coun-
 ties; in short, that, while the whole con-
 tinent

continent are ardently wishing for peace, on such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal. That such are the language and conduct of our fellow-citizens will be farther manifested, by a representation of the lieutenant-governor and council, of the first instant, to general Gage, at Boston, and to his majesty's ministers, by the packet. Assure yourselves, my lord and gentlemen, that we speak the real sentiments of the confederated colonies on the continent, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare, that all the horrors of a civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of parliament.

A sincere regard to the public weal and the cause of humanity ; a hearty desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood ; our loyalty to our prince, and the love we bear to all our fellow-subjects in his majesty's

ty's realm and dominions ; a full conviction of the warmest attachment in the capital of the empire to the cause of justice and liberty ; have induced us to address you on this momentous subject, confident that the same cogent motives will induce the most vigorous exertions of the city of London, to restore union, mutual confidence, and peace, to the whole empire.

We have the honour to be,

My lord and gentlemen,

Your most obedient and

Affectionate fellow-subjects

And humble servants,

Phil. Livingston,	Isaac Low, chairman.
Ja. Duane,	John Jay,
G. Duyckrorck,	Fran. Lewis,
Wm. Seton,	John Alsop,
	William

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Eleaz
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Nich
John
Victo
Willia
Hercu

Theophilus Anthony,	William W. Ludlow,
Thomas Smith,	Cornelius Clopper,
Richard Yates,	Abrm Brinckerhoff,
Oliver Timpleton,	Henry Remsen,
Jacobus Van Zandt,	Robert Ray,
Jeremiah Platt,	Evert Bancker,
Peter S. Curtenius,	Joseph Totten,
Robert Benson,	Abm. F. Lott,
Abraham Brasher,	David Beckman,
Leonard Lispenard,	Isaac Roosevelt,
Thomas Marstory,	Gabriel H. Ludlow,
Nicholas Hoffman,	Wm. Walton,
P. V. B. Livingston,	Daniel Phoenix,
Lewis Pintard,	Fredk. Jay,
Jno. Imlay,	Samuel Broome,
Eleazar Millar, jun.	John de Lancey,
Jno. Broom,	Alex. M'Dougall,
Jno. B. Moore,	John Reade,
Nicholas Bogert,	Joseph Bull,
John Anthony,	George Janeway,
Victor Bicker,	John White,
William Goforth,	Gab. W. Ludlow,
Hercules Mulligan,	John Lasher,

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Nicholas

Jacobs. Lefferts,	Nicholas Roosevelt,
Antho. Vandam,	Corns. P. Low,
Abraham Walton,	Frans. Bassett,
Thomas Randall,	James Beekman,
Aug. V. Horne,	Thomas Ivers,
Ab. Duryee,	William Denning,
Saml. Verplanck,	John Berrien,
Rudolphus Ritzeman,	Benja. Helme,
John Morton,	Wm. W. Gilbert,
Joseph Hallett,	Daniel Dunscomb,
Hamilton Young,	John Lamb,
Peter Goelet,	Richard Sharpe,
Gerret Kitettas,	Jno. Moringcott,
Thomas Buchanan,	Jacob Vanvoorhis,
James Desbrosses, jun.	Comfort Sands,
Petrus Byvanck,	Edward Fleming,
Lawrence Embree.	Lancaster Burling,
	Benjn. Kiffam,

To the right honourable the lord-mayor,
the aldermen and common-council, of
the city of London.

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New-York, April 29, 1775.

A general association, agreed to and subscribed by the freeholders, freemen, and inhabitants, of the city and county of New-York.

PERSUADED that the salvation of the rights and liberties of America depends, under God, on the firm union of its inhabitants in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety, and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend a dissolution of the powers of government, We, the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants, of the city and county of New-York, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the ministry, to raise a revenue in America; and, shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts-bay; DO, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become

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slaves;

slaves ; and do associate, under all the ties of religion, honour, and love to our country, to adopt, and endeavour to carry into execution, whatever measures may be recommended by the continental congress, or resolved upon by our provincial convention, for the purpose of preserving our constitution, and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British parliament, until a reconciliation between Great-Britain and America, on constitutional principles, (which we most ardently desire,) can be obtained ; and that we will in all things follow the advice of our general committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.

Dated, in New-York, April and May,

- 1775.

WILKES,

W I L K E S, Mayor.

At a meeting of the livery of London, in common-hall assembled, on Saturday, the twenty-fourth of June, 1775:

The right honourable the lord-mayor reported, that he had received a letter from the right honourable the earl of Hertford, lord-chamberlain to his majesty, and that his lordship had returned an answer thereto; both of which were read.

My lord,

THE king has directed me to give notice, that, for the future, his majesty will not receive, on the throne, any address, remonstrance, and petition, but from the body corporate of the city.

I therefore acquaint your lordship with it, as chief magistrate of the city: and have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient

Humble servant,

Grosvenor-street,
April 11, 1775.

HERTFORD.

The right hon. John Wilkes, lord-
mayor of the city of London.

Mansion-house, May 2, 1775.

My lord,

IT is impossible for me to express or conceal the extreme astonishment and grief I felt at the notice your lordship's letter gave me, as chief magistrate of the city, "That, for the future, his majesty will not receive, on the throne, any address,"

" drefs, remonftrance, and petition, but
 " from the body corporate of the city."

I entreat your lordfhip to lay me, with
 all humility, at the king's feet; and, as I
 have now the honour to be chief magif-
 trate, in my name to fupplicate his ma-
 jefty's juftice and goodnefs, in behalf of
 the livery of London, that he would be
 graciously pleafed to revoke an order
 highly injurious to their rights and privi-
 leges, which, in this instance, have been
 constantly refpected, and carefully prefer-
 ved, by all his royal predeceffors. The li-
 very of London, my lord, have approved
 themfelves the zealous friends of liberty
 and the proteftant fucceffion: They have
 fteadily purfued only thofe meafures which
 were calculated to fecure the free constitu-
 tion of this country; and this, your lordfhip
 well knows, has created them the hatred
 of all the partizans of the exiled and pro-
 fcribed family. They form the great and

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powerful body of the corporation, in whom most important powers are vested: the election of the first magistrate, the sheriffs, the chamberlain, the auditors of the receipt and expenditure of their revenues, and of the four members who represent in parliament the capital of this vast empire. The full body corporate never assemble, nor could they legally act together as one great aggregate body; for, by the constitution of the city, particular and distinct privileges are reserved to the various members of the corporation: to the freemen, to the liverymen, to the common-council, to the court of aldermen. His majesty's solicitor-general, Mr. Wedderburn, was consulted by the city, in the year 1771, respecting the legality of common-halls, and the remonstrances of the livery; in conjunction with Mr. Serjeant Glynn, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Nugent, he gave an opinion which I have the honour of transcribing from our records.

“ We

“ We apprehend that the head officer
 “ of every corporation may convene the
 “ body, or any class of it, whenever he
 “ thinks proper : that the lord-mayor,
 “ for the time being, may, of his own
 “ authority, legally call a common-hall ;
 “ *and we see no legal objection to his calling*
 “ *the two last* : we conceive it to be the du-
 “ ty of the proper officers of the several
 “ companies, to whom precepts, for the
 “ purpose of summoning their respective
 “ liveries, have been usually directed, to
 “ execute those precepts ; and that a wil-
 “ ful refusal, on their part, is an offence,
 “ punishable by disfranchisement.”

The city, my lord, have been careful,
 that all their proceedings should be ground-
 ed on the true principles of law and the
 constitution. Notwithstanding it is the
 clear right of the subject to petition the
 king for redress of grievances ; a right,
 which so many thousands of our fellow-

subjects, my lord, have justly thought it their duty very frequently to exercise in the last ten years; yet the city, from excess of caution, took a great legal opinion in the case; and I find the following words entered in their journals by the express order of the common-hall.

“ The livery of London, legally assembled in common-hall, either on Midsummer, Michaelmas, or any other day, have an undoubted right to take into consideration any matter of public grievance they may think proper. *It is beyond dispute that the right is inherent in them.*” A jury have likewise declared this in a solemn verdict. I have been thus particular, my lord, on this subject, from our records, because I differ in one point from the last opinion which I quoted: for I know there is no right or privilege of this free people, or of mankind, but what has been *disputed*, and even

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ven *denied*, by pensioned pens and tongues in the service of the arbitrary ministers of arbitrary kings.

Your lordship, I am sure, will now no longer suffer a doubt to remain in your mind as to the legality of common-halls, or of their extensive powers; and therefore I presume to lay claim, on behalf of the livery of London, to the ancient privilege of presenting to the king, on the throne, any address, petition, or remonstrance. In this manner have the addresses of the livery constantly been received, both by his present majesty, and all his royal predecessors, the kings of England. On the most exact research, I do not find a single instance to the contrary. This immemorial usage, in the opinion of the ablest lawyers, gives an absolute right, and is as little subject to controversy as any fair or just prerogative of the crown. Other rights and privileges of the city have been invaded by despotic monarchs,

monarchs, by several of the accursed race of the Stuarts; but this in no period of our history; it has not even been brought into question till the present inauspicious æra. I have an entire confidence, my lord, that a right, left uninvaded by every tyrant of the Tarquin race, will be sacredly preserved under the government of our present sovereign, because his majesty is perfectly informed, that, in consequence of their expulsion, his family was chosen to protect and defend the rights of a free people, whom they endeavoured to enslave.

It cannot escape your lordship's recollection, that, at all times, when the privileges of the capital were attacked, very fatal consequences ensued. The invasion of the liberties of the nation we have generally seen preceded by attempts on the franchises of the first city in the kingdom; and the shock has spread from the centre to the most distant point of the circumference of
this

this wide extended empire. I hope his majesty's goodness will revoke an order, which might, perhaps, in this light, be considered as ominous to the citizens of this metropolis. Such a measure only could quiet the alarm, which has already spread too far, and given gloomy apprehensions of futurity.

The privilege, my lord, for which I contend, is of very great moment, and peculiarly striking. When his majesty receives on the throne any address, it is read by the proper officer to the king, in the presence of the petitioners. They have the satisfaction of knowing that their sovereign has heard their complaints. They receive an answer. If the same address is presented at a levee, or in any other mode, no answer is given. A suspicion may arise that the address is never heard or read, because it is only received, and immediately delivered to the lord in waiting.

If

If he is tolerably versed in the supple insinuating arts, practised in the magic circle of a court, he will take care never to remind his prince of any disagreeable and disgusting, however important and wholesome, truths. He will strangle in its birth the fair offspring of liberty, because its cries might awaken and alarm the parent ; and thus the common father of all his people may remain equally ignorant and unhappy in his most weighty concerns.

Important truths, my lord, were the foundation of the last humble address, remonstrance, and petition, to the king, respecting our brave fellow-subjects in America. The greatness, as well as goodness, of the cause, and the horrors of an approaching civil war, justified our application to the throne. It comprehended every thing interesting to us as a free and commercial people : the first principles of our common liberty, and the immense advantages

vantages of the only trade we enjoy unrivalled by other nations. I greatly fear that your lordship's letter, immediately following his majesty's unfavourable answer to the remonstrance, will be considered as a fresh mark of the king's anger against our unhappy brethren, as well as of his displeasure against all the faithful citizens of his capital. The livery, possessing the purest intentions, the most noble and exalted views for the public good, will comfort themselves with the appeal to that justice in the sovereign's heart, which cannot fail of soon restoring them to the royal favour: but the Americans may be driven to despair, unless merciful Providence should graciously interpose, and change the obdurate hearts of those unjust and wicked ministers, who have been so long permitted, by divine vengeance, to be a scourge both to us and our brethren. The true friends of liberty, I am sure, will not be remiss in their duty.

I doubt

I doubt not, my lord, from that love of your country, and zeal for his majesty's glory, which have equally distinguished your lordship, that the livery of London will have your hearty concurrence with them, as well as your powerful intercession with the king, for the revocation of the late order. Such a conduct will secure to your lordship the esteem and affection of all good men, and add to the unfeigned respect, with which I have the honour to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most obedient

Humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

To the right honourable the earl of Hertford, lord-chamberlain of the king's household.

Resolved,

Resolved, That whoever advised his majesty to declare, he would not in future receive, on the throne, any address, remonstrance, and petition, from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of London, are enemies to the right of the subject to petition the throne, because such advice is calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their sovereign, to prevent a redress of grievances, and alienate the minds of Englishmen from the Hanoverian succession.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this common-hall, that, unless his majesty hears the petitions of his subjects, the right of petitioning is nugatory.

A motion being made, and question put, That an humble address, remonstrance, and petition, be presented to his majesty, from the lord-mayor, aldermen, and

and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, on this important crisis of American affairs, the same was resolved in the affirmative.

And, an address, remonstrance, and petition, being produced, a motion was made, That the same be read; and, the question being put by Mr. Recorder, it was resolved in the affirmative: whereupon the same was read, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most faithful subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, are compelled again
to

to disturb your majesty's repose with our complaints.

We have already expressed to your majesty our abhorrence of the tyrannical measures pursued against our fellow-subjects in America, as well as of the men who secretly advise, and of the ministers who execute, these measures. We desire to repeat again, that the power contended for over the colonies, under the specious name of dignity, is, to all intents and purposes, *despotism*:—that the exercise of despotic power, in any part of the empire, is inconsistent with the character and safety of this country.

As we would not suffer any man, or body of men, to establish arbitrary power over us, we cannot acquiesce in an attempt to force it upon any part of our fellow-subjects. We are persuaded, that, by the sacred, unalterable rights of human nature, as well as by every principle of the

the constitution, the Americans ought to enjoy peace, liberty, and safety: that whatever power invades these rights ought to be resisted. ~~We~~ We hold such resistance, in vindication of their constitutional rights, to be their indispensable duty,—to God, (from whom those rights are derived;)—to themselves, who cannot be safe and happy without them;—to their posterity, who have a right to claim this inheritance at their hands unviolated and unimpaired.

We have already remonstrated to your majesty, that these measures were big with all the consequences which could alarm a free and commercial people: a deep, and perhaps fatal, wound to commerce; the ruin of manufactures; the diminution of the revenue, and consequent increase of taxes; the alienation of the colonies; and the blood of your majesty's subjects.

Unhappily,

Unhappily, fire, the worst of those apprehensions is now realized in all its horror. We have seen, with equal dread and concern, a civil war commenced in America by your majesty's commander in chief. Will your majesty be pleased to consider, what must be the situation of your people here, who have nothing now to expect, from America, but gazettes of blood, and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow-subjects?

Every moment's prosecution of this fatal war may loosen irreparably the bonds of that connection, on which the glory and safety of the British empire depend.

If any thing could add to the alarm of these events, it is your majesty's having declared your confidence in the wisdom of men, a majority of whom are notoriously bribed to betray their constituents and their country. It is the misfortune of your majesty,

jeſty, it is the miſfortune and grief of your people, to have a grand council and a repreſentative under an undue and dangerous influence ; an influence, which, though procured by your miniſters, is dangerous to your majeſty, by deceiving you,—and to your people, by betraying them.

In ſuch a ſituation, your petitioners are bound to declare to your majeſty, that they cannot and will not ſit unconcerned : that they will exert themſelves, at every hazard, to bring thoſe, who have adviſed theſe ruinous meaſures, to the juſtice of this country and of the much-injured colonies.

We have already ſignified our perſuaſion, that theſe evils originate in the ſecret advice of thoſe who are equally enemies to your majeſty's title and to the rights of your people. Your petitioners are now
compelled

compelled to say, that your throne is surrounded by men avowedly inimical to those principles, on which your majesty possesses the crown, and the people their liberties. At a time of such difficulty and danger, public confidence is essential to your majesty's repose and to the preservation of your people. Such confidence cannot be obtained by ministers and advisers who want wisdom, and hold principles incompatible with freedom: nor can any hope of relief be expected from a parliament, chosen under a national delusion, insidiously raised by misrepresentations touching the true state of America, and artfully embraced by a precipitate dissolution.

Your petitioners, therefore, again pray and beseech your majesty, to dismiss your present ministers and advisers from your person and councils for ever: to dissolve a parliament, who, by various acts
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of cruelty and injustice, have manifested a spirit of persecution against our brethren in America, and given their sanction to popery and arbitrary power: to put your future confidence in ministers, whose known and unshaken attachment to the constitution, joined to their wisdom and integrity, may enable your majesty to settle this alarming dispute, upon the sure, honourable, and lasting, foundations of general liberty.

W I L K E S, Mayor.

In a meeting, or assembly, of the mayor, aldermen, and livery of the several companies, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Tuesday, the 4th day of July, 1775:

The right honourable the lord-mayor acquainted the livery, that the sheriffs waited on his majesty,

majesty, at St. James's, on Wednesday last; and that Mr. Sheriff Plomer addressed his majesty as follows.

May it please your majesty,

WE are ordered, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, to wait upon your majesty, humbly to know your majesty's royal will and pleasure, when your majesty will be pleased to receive, upon the throne, their humble address, remonstrance, and petition.

To which his majesty answered,

You will please to take notice, that I will receive their address, remonstrance, and petition, on Friday next, at the levee.

Mr. Sheriff Plomer replied,

Your majesty will permit us to inform you, that the livery, in common-hall as-

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sembled,

sembled, have resolved not to present their address, remonstrance, and petition, unless your majesty shall be pleased to receive it sitting on the throne.

To which his majesty answered,

I am ever ready to receive addresses and petitions,—but I am the judge where.

The lord-mayor then declared, that, in consequence of the order of the livery, that the address, remonstrance, and petition, should not be presented to the king but sitting on his throne,—the sheriffs' report to him,—and lord Hertford's letter,—his lordship had not attended his majesty with the said address.

Resolved, That the king is bound to hear the petitions of his people; it being the undoubted right of the subject to be heard, and not a matter of grace and favour.

Resolved,

Resolved, That his majesty's answer is a direct denial of the right of this court to have their petitions heard.

Resolved, That such denial renders the right of petitioning the throne, recognized and established by the revolution, of no effect.

Resolved, That, whoever advised his majesty, directly or indirectly, to refuse hearing the humble address, remonstrance, and petition, of this court, on the throne, is equally an enemy to the happiness and security of the king, and to the peace and liberties of the people.

Resolved, That the following instructions be given to our representatives in parliament.

Gentlemen,

You are instructed by the livery, in common-hall assembled, to move, immediately

diately on the next meeting of parliament, for an humble address, from the house of commons to his majesty, requesting to know who were the advisers of those fatal measures, which have planted popery and arbitrary power in America; have plunged us into a most unnatural civil war, to the subversion of the fundamental principles of the English liberty, the ruin of our most valuable commerce, and the destruction of his majesty's subjects:—to know who were the advisers of a measure, so dangerous to his majesty's happiness and the rights of his people, as refusing to hear the petitions and complaints of his subjects. You are farther instructed, gentlemen, to move for an impeachment of the authors and advisers of those measures; that, by bringing them to *public justice*, evil counsellors may be removed from before the king; his throne may be established; the rights of his people vindicated; and the whole empire restored to the

the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and safety.

W I L K E S, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Friday, the 7th of July, 1775.

A motion was made, and question put, That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty, from this court, praying that his majesty will be pleased to suspend hostilities against our fellow-subjects in North America, and adopt such conciliatory measures as may restore union, confidence, and peace, to the whole empire: the same was resolved in the affirmative: which petition was read, and agreed to, as follows.

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To

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address and petition of the
lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons,
of the city of London, in common-
council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,
YOUR majesty's most loyal and dutiful
subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen,
and commons, of the city of London, in
common-council assembled, with all hu-
mility beg leave to lay themselves at your
royal feet, humbly imploring your benign
attention towards the grievous destruction
of their fellow-subjects in America.

The characteristic of the people, first,
over whom you reign, has ever been e-
qually remarked for an unparalleled loy-
alty to their sovereign, whilst the princi-
ples of the constitution have been the rule
of his government,—as well as a firm oppo-
sition

sition whenever their rights have been invaded.

Your American subjects, royal sire, descended from the same ancestors with ourselves, appear equally jealous of the prerogatives of freemen, without which they cannot deem themselves happy.

Their chearful and unasked-for contributions, as well as willing services to the mother-country, whilst they remained free from the clog of compulsory laws, will, we are sure, plead powerfully with the humanity of your disposition, for graciously granting them every reasonable opportunity of giving, as freemen, what they seem resolutely determined to refuse under the injunction of laws made independent of their own consent.

The abhorrence we entertain of civil bloodshed and confusion will, we trust, sire, if not wholly exculpate us in your

royal mind, yet plead powerfully in our favour for the warmth with which we lament those measures, whose destructive principles have driven our American brethren to acts of desperation.

Convinced of the earnest disposition of the colonists to remain firm in all dutious obedience to the constitutional authority of this kingdom, permit us, most gracious sovereign, to beseech you, that those operations of force, which at present distract them with the most dreadful apprehensions, may be suspended; and that, uncontrouled by a restraint incompatible with a free government, they may possess an opportunity of rendering such terms of accommodation, as, we doubt not, will approve them worthy of a distinguished rank among the firmest friends of this country.

His

*His majesty's answer, delivered the 14th day
of July, 1775.*

I am always ready to listen to the dutiful petitions of my subjects, and ever happy to comply with their reasonable requests; but, while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted by a part of my American subjects, I owe it to the rest of my people, of whose zeal and fidelity I have had such constant proofs, to continue and enforce those measures, by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained.

W I L K E S, Mayor.

In a meeting, or assembly, of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the several companies, of the city of London, in common-ball assembled, at the Guildball of the said

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city,

city, on Friday, the 29th day of September, 1775 :

The right honourable the lord mayor acquainted the livery, that he had received a letter, from the congress at Philadelphia, directed to his lordship and the livery of London; and, if it were their pleasure, he would read it : which being desired by the livery, his lordship then read the letter, which follows in these words.

My lord,

PERMIT the delegates of the people of twelve ancient colonies to pay your lordship, and the very respectable body of which you are head, the just tribute of gratitude and thanks for the virtuous and unsolicited resentment you have shewn to the violated rights of a free people. The city of London, my lord, having, in all ages, approved itself the patron of liberty, and the support of just government, against lawless tyranny and oppression, cannot

not fail to make us deeply sensible of the powerful aid our cause must receive from such advocates : a cause, my lord, worthy the support of the first city in the world, as it involves the fate of a great continent, and threatens to shake the foundations of a flourishing, and, until lately, a happy, empire.

North-America, my lord, wishes most ardently for a lasting connection with Great-Britain, on terms of just and equal liberty ; less than which generous minds will not offer, nor brave and free ones be willing to receive.

A cruel war has, at length, been opened against us ; and, whilst we prepare to defend ourselves like the descendants of Britons, we still hope that the mediation of wise and good citizens will at length prevail over despotism, and restore harmony and peace, on permanent principles, to an oppressed and divided empire.

I have the honour to be, my lord,
with great esteem,

Your lordship's

Faithful friends and fellow-subjects.

(By order of the congress,)

JOHN HANCOCK, president.

To the right honourable the lord-
mayor and livery of the city of
London.

Mr. Deputy Piper acquainted the live-
ry, That, at a previous meeting of the li-
very, at the Half-moon tavern, in Cheap-
side, on Monday evening last, at which
meeting he was chairman, it was by them
agreed, That an address to the electors of
Great-Britain, on the present alarming cri-
sis of public grievances, be recommended
from that meeting to the consideration of
the

the next common-hall. And, an address being accordingly produced, a motion was made, and question put, That the said address be now read: it was resolved in the affirmative: and the said address was read, and agreed to, as follows.

The address of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery, of London, in common-hall assembled.

To the electors of Great-Britain.

Gentlemen,

THE mischiefs which have already arisen, and the greater calamities which are threatened, from the unnatural war excited in America, by the arbitrary and inexorable spirit of his majesty's ministers and advisers, have impressed our minds with alarms and apprehensions, which occasion this address to you.

As

As electors, we are more particularly called upon to take into consideration these dangerous proceedings against our fellow-subjects in America, because the representatives of the people are unhappily made the instruments of these measures.

It is impossible we can see, without the utmost alarm, preparations making for the prosecution of an expensive and ruinous war with our own colonies, from which so much of our commerce, and therefore the sources of our wealth, are derived. The inevitable consequence of this must be, an increase of taxes, already too heavy,—and an addition to the national debt, which presses us at this time with intolerable weight. We beg you to consider what must be the situation of this kingdom, under an augmentation of taxes and a diminution of commerce,—an increase of national debt, and an equal decrease of national resources.

These

These are the immediate and unavoidable consequences of this war ; the probable ones are still more fatal. If our natural and inveterate enemies should fall upon us, when we are exhausted of men and money, when our most valuable commerce is ruined, and our bravest and veteran troops sacrificed, what is it that can shield us from immediate ruin ? If we involve ourselves, then, in this obstinate and expensive civil war, we must owe our safety to the forbearance of our enemies. Neither do we think it improbable, from the desperate valour with which the Americans defend their dearest liberties, that all our efforts will be unsuccessful, and that we shall at last be obliged to sit down under a grievous addition of debt, the shame of defeated armaments, and the total loss of our useful and affectionate colonies.

The provision, that is making for the introduction of Hanoverian and Hessian troops,

troops, instead of removing, confirms, our apprehensions; because we cannot have any confidence in the protection of foreign mercenaries, and feel at once the shame and folly of that policy, which is to burthen us with taxes for the payment of foreign protectors, while our own brave troops are slaughtered in an unnatural, unnecessary, inglorious, contest.

For the certain expences of this war we see no reparation, even in conquest. Desolated fields and depopulated provinces are little likely to contribute to our necessities, either by revenue or commerce. No complaint, from the merchants and manufacturers in Great-Britain, of illicit trade, and acts of navigation infringed, has called for these coercive measures: on the contrary, they have repeatedly petitioned against the principles upon which the war is founded. To secure our commerce, therefore, can neither be the
aim

aim, nor issue of this war ; neither can it be to settle a due subordination of the colonies upon the parent state, since they have repeatedly and solemnly acknowledged their subordination, and submitted to our controul.

We cannot, therefore, discover any real object or possible event of this dispute, (should we be successful,) but that of establishing the arbitrary power of the crown over our fellow-subjects in America, which must greatly endanger the constitution here,—and increasing the number of placemen and pensioners, already so enormous as to threaten the utter destruction of freedom and independence among us.

The people of the colonies have appealed to their fellow-subjects, in Great-Britain, for the justice and necessity of their conduct. We are convinced of their having been injured and oppressed : we sympathize in their griefs, and revere
their

their fortitude: every motive of humanity, of justice, and of interest, calls upon us to condemn the measures of which they complain; and to declare, that we will never willingly contribute to urge their oppressions or abridge their liberties.

It has been our grief and our misfortune to see, that the repeated petitions, from his majesty's subjects in America, supported by many in this country, have not availed to prevent the dreadful extremities we now lament. The petitioners have been studiously driven to the last resources of despair, by a denial of redress, and an accumulation of grievances too severe to be endured by a free people.

In the united petition, last year, from all the colonies to the king, they asked for peace, liberty, and safety. Did it become us to refuse such a request, or to persist in violating the peace, liberty, and safety, of any part of our fellow-subjects?

They

They pledged themselves, " That, in
 " time of war, they will be ready and
 " willing to demonstrate their loyalty to
 " his majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and
 " raising forces." What can we in justice require more from a part of the empire, restrained in point of commercial advantages for our benefit, and labouring, in consequence of that restraint, under a heavy and accumulating debt? Can we expect success from a war founded in such flagrant injustice?—Appealing, say they,
 " To that Being, who searches thoroughly
 " the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly
 " profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive than a
 " dread of impending destruction."

That dread has been realized.—Famine, fire, and sword, have answered their reasonable requests and earnest supplications: utter destruction or unconditional submission

sion is the only alternative left them by this imperious and intemperate administration.

Yet still they determined to try the force of fresh supplications: this they have done, in their late petition to the throne, more humble, but still fruitless as the former. They say, "Knowing to
 " what violent resentments and incurable
 " animosities, civil discords are apt to ex-
 " asperate and inflame the contending
 " parties, we think ourselves required,
 " by indispensable obligations to almighty
 " God, to your majesty, to our fellow-
 " subjects, and ourselves, immediately to
 " use all the means in our power, not in-
 " compatible with our safety, for stopping
 " the farther effusion of blood, and for a-
 " verting the impending calamities which
 " threaten the British empire."

We feel these as the most amiable senti-
 ments of men, cordially interested in our
 welfare,

welfare, and earnestly aiming at peace and reconciliation.

In pursuit of these laudable purposes, they solemnly declare their most ardent desire, that "the former harmony between
 "the two countries may be restored, and
 "a concord may be established between
 "them upon so firm a basis, as to perpe-
 "tuate its blessing, uninterrupted by any
 "future dissensions, to succeeding gene-
 "rations in both countries." They de-
 declare, that "they do not request such a
 "reconciliation as might in any manner
 "be inconsistent with the dignity and
 "welfare of Great-Britain;" that "they
 "are ready and willing at all times, as
 "they have ever been, with their lives
 "and fortunes, to assert and maintain the
 "rights and interests of his majesty and of
 "their mother-country." They there-
 fore implore his majesty, "to take mea-
 "sures for preventing the farther destruc-
 "tion

“ tion of the lives of his subjects ; and
 “ that he will be pleased to direct some
 “ mode, by which the united applications
 “ of his faithful colonists to the throne,
 “ in pursuance of their common councils,
 “ may be improved into a happy and per-
 “ manent reconciliation ; and that the
 “ wished-for opportunity may soon be re-
 “ stored to them, of evincing the sincerity
 “ of their professions, by every testimony of
 “ devotion, becoming the most dutiful
 “ subjects and the most affectionate colo-
 “ nists.”

To this petition an answer has been re-
 fused. The unhappy petitioners are left
 to deplore the prospect of an inexorable
 war and desolation, and to seek protection
 in those fatal resources, which self-preserva-
 tion suggests against impending destruc-
 tion.

This,

This, gentlemen, is the alarming state of America, which fills us with anxiety and apprehensions.

We lament the blood that has been already shed : we deplore the fate of those brave men, who are devoted to hazard their lives,—not against the enemies of the British name, but against the friends of the prosperity and glory of Great-Britain : we feel for the honour of the British arms, sullied,—not by the misbehaviour of those who bore them, but by the misconduct of the ministers, who employed them to the oppression of their fellow-subjects : we are alarmed at the immediate, insupportable, expence, and the probable consequences, of a war, which, we are convinced, originates in violence and injustice, and must end in ruin.

These are the sentiments, gentlemen, which we take the liberty of communicating

ting to you, as the reasons upon which we have acted: trusting that, if they meet with your approbation, you will co-operate with us, in endeavouring to bring the authors of these evils to the justice of their country.

S A W B R I D G E, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Thursday, the 14th day of March, 1776.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this court be given to the reverend Richard Price, doctor in divinity, fellow of the royal society, for having laid down, in his late publication of "Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, &c." those sure principles, upon which, alone, the supreme legislative authority of Great-Britain over her colonies can be justly or beneficially

neficially maintained ; and for holding forth those public objects, without which it must be totally indifferent, to the kingdom, who are IN, or who are OUT of, power.

A motion being made, and question put, That the freedom of this city be presented, in a gold box of the value of fifty pounds, to the reverend Dr. Richard Price, as a grateful testimony of the approbation of this court, for his late pamphlet, intituled, " Observations on the Nature of " Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy " of the War with America," and that the chamberlain do attend him with the same ; the same was resolved in the affirmative, and ordered accordingly.

Resolved, That this court do present to his majesty an humble and dutiful address and petition, that the most solemn, clear, distinct, and unambiguous, specification

cation of the just and honourable terms which his majesty, with both houses of parliament, means to grant to the colonies, may precede the dreadful operations of his armament : which address and petition was read, and agreed to, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address and petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, beg leave to approach your throne, and to intreat your majesty's royal attention, whilst, with the humility of dutiful subjects, we lay before your majesty what at present most immediately affects us, in the spirit and tendency of the public measures now depending,

depending, and the anxiety we feel at the naked and exposed state in which this country will be left, by draining it of the national troops, as well as at the danger and disgrace attending the late treaties for foreign mercenaries, whose latitude is such, as to provide the means of introducing a foreign army into this realm.

We cannot, sir, without horror, look forward to that dismemberment of the empire,—that increase of the national debt and of burthensome taxes,—the loss of our most valuable resources,—those distresses of our merchants and manufacturers,—those deficiencies of the revenue,—that effusion of the blood of our countrymen and brethren,—that failure of public credit,—and those dreadful calamities and convulsions,—which must follow a civil war, so began and pursued, whose extent no wisdom can foresee.

We humbly conceive, that no people can be bound to surrender their rights and liberties as a return for protection. The colonies have fought our battles with us; and, in the last war, they so far exceeded their abilities, that this nation thought it just and necessary to make them an annual compensation. And even now, driven to open hostilities in their own defence, they are willing (their charters being inviolably secured) to continue to us all those advantages of regular and exclusive commerce, to which we have long owed our opulence and prosperity: and we have every assurance, which men in their situation can safely give, that, if asked as freemen, they are willing to go farther, and to afford, to the exhausted state of the revenue of this country, such reasonable and voluntary aid as their abilities permit, provided that their contributions are unalienably applied to relieve that distress, which is the only

ly fair and politic foundation of requiring them; and that neither their aids, nor our own sinking funds, shall be any longer perverted from a public benefit, and misapplied to the purpose of corruption, instead of redeeming the debts of the nation, according to its first wise and just institution.

Indulge but, most gracious sovereign, the humanity and benignity of your own royal disposition, and our prayers will be granted. We implore the extension of your majesty's justice and mercy toward that continent, which, when arbiter of the terms of peace, it was your majesty's own determination to prefer to every other compensation for all the expences of the last war.

We humbly and earnestly beseech your majesty, that the most solemn, clear, distinct, and unambiguous, specification of those just and honourable terms, which

your majesty, with both houses of parliament, mean to grant to the colonies, may precede the dreadful operations of your armament : every colour and suspicion of injustice and oppression will then be removed from the proceedings of the mother-country ; and, if those just and honourable terms are not submitted to, your majesty will undoubtedly be enabled to meet what will then be rebellion, with the zealous hearts and hands of a determined, loyal, and united, people.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 22d day of March, 1776.

I deplore, with the deepest concern, the miseries which a great part of my subjects in North-America have brought upon themselves, by an unjustifiable resistance to the constitutional authority of this kingdom ; and I shall be ready, and happy, to alleviate those miseries by acts of mercy and clemency, whenever that authority

thority is established, and the now-existing rebellion is at an end. To obtain these salutary purposes, I will invariably pursue the most proper and effectual means.

S A W B R I D G E, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Monday, the 29th day of April, 1776.

A motion being made, and question put, That an humble address of congratulation be presented to his majesty, by this court, on the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another princess, the same was resolved in the affirmative, and ordered accordingly: which address was read, and agreed to, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord-mayor,
aldermen, and commons, of the city of
London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

YOUR majesty's loyal subjects, the
lord-mayor, aldermen, and com-
mons, of the city of London, in common-
council assembled, approach your majesty
with their congratulations on the happy
delivery of their most amiable queen, and
the birth of another princess; and to assure
your majesty, that there are not, in all
your dominions, any subjects more faith-
ful, or more ready to maintain the true
honour and dignity of your crown. They
will continue to rejoice at every event
which adds to your majesty's domestic fe-
licity: and they hope, that every branch
of the august house of Brunswick will add
farther security to those sacred laws and
liberties,

liberties, which their ancestors would not suffer to be violated with impunity, and which, in consequence of the glorious and necessary revolution, that illustrious house was called forth to protect and defend.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 3d day of May, 1776.

I thank you for this dutiful address on the happy delivery of the queen, and the birth of another princess.

The security of the laws and liberties of my people has always been, and ever shall be, the object of my care and attention.

Farther proceedings of the 29th day of April, 1776.

The town-clerk acquainted this court, That, according to the order of the last court, he
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had



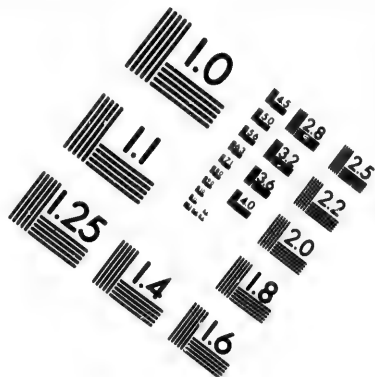
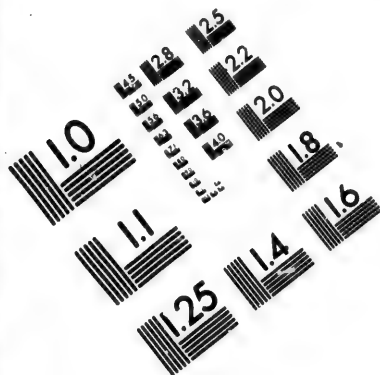
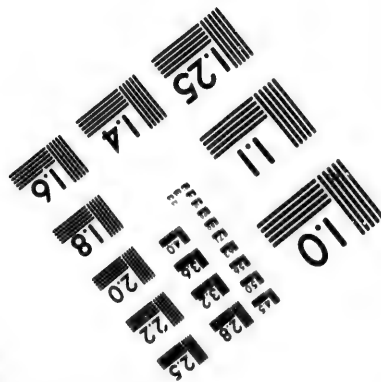
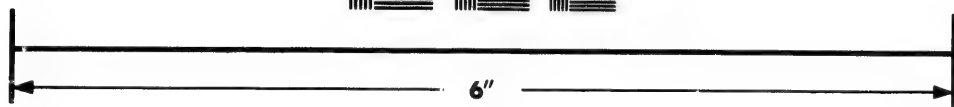
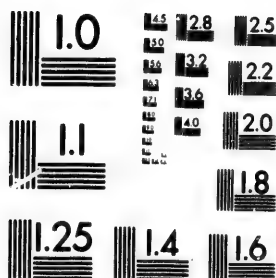


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had waited, with their vote of thanks, on the reverend Richard Price, doctor in divinity, fellow of the royal society, to which he had received the following answer.

Sir,

I Request the favour of you to convey, to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, my warmest acknowledgements, for the very condescending resolution of thanks with which they have honoured my Observations on Civil Liberty. These observations were written with no other intention than to plead the cause of liberty and justice, and to remind this country of the dreadful danger of its present situation. The testimony of approbation, which they have received from a body so respectable, annually elected by the first city in the world, and so distinguished for giving an example of zeal in the cause of liberty, will, it may
be

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be hoped, lead the public to fix their views more on such measures, as shall save a sinking constitution, and preserve us from impending calamities.

I am,

Sir,

With great respect,

Your most obedient and

Humble servant,

Newington-Green,
March 23, 1776.

RICHARD PRICE.

To William Rix, esquire, town-
clerk of the city of London.

I.6. SAWBRIDGE,

S A W B R I D G E, Mayor.

*A common-council holden, in the chamber
of the Guildhall of the city of London, on
Tuesday, the 23d day of July, 1776.*

*This day, Mr. Chamberlain laid before this
court a letter he had received from the rev.
doctor Price; which was read, in these
words.*

Newington-Green, July 21, 1776.

Sir,

I Am very happy in the opportunity gi-
ven me, by receiving from your
hands the freedom of the city of London,
to repeat my thanks to the lord-mayor,
the aldermen, and common-council, for
the great honour they have done me. It
is impossible I should not be deeply im-
pressed by testimonies of their approbation,
so condescending and generous. May the
city

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city of London always flourish, and may
the kingdom be delivered from the dread-
ful danger with which it is threatened by
the present civil war.

I am, sir,

With great respect,

Your most obedient and

Humble servant,

RICHARD PRICE.

To Benjamin Hopkins, esq.
chamberlain of the city of London.

H A L L I F A X, Mayor,

*A common-council holden, in the chamber of the
Guildhall of the city of London, on Friday,
the 14th day of February, 1777.*

A

A motion was made, and question put; That this court do agree to petition the honourable house of commons against the bill, now depending in that honourable house, intitled, " A bill to empower his majesty to " secure and detain persons charged with, " or suspected of, the crime of high-treason, " committed in North-America, or on the " high seas; or the crime of piracy:" the same was unanimously resolved in the affirmative: which petition is as follows.

To the honourable the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners have seen a bill, depending in this honourable house, " To empower his majesty to se-
" cure

“ cure and detain persons charged with,
 “ or suspected of, the crime of high-trea-
 “ son, committed in North-America, or
 “ on the high seas ; or the crime of pira-
 “ cy.”

That, if the said bill should pass into a law, your petitioners are apprehensive, it will create uneasiness in the minds of many of his majesty's good subjects, and tend to excite the most alarming disturbances ; all persons, indiscriminately, being liable, upon the ground of suspicion alone, without any oath made, and without convening the parties, or hearing what they can alledge in their own justification, to be committed to a remote prison in any corner of the realm, there to remain without bail or mainprize.

That the Habeas Corpus, which is the great security of the liberties of the people, will be suspended.

That

That your petitioners are deeply affected with what they conceive will be the dangerous consequence of such a law ; as, from little motives of resentment, and various other inducements, there may be persons, competent to commit, who may be tempted to exercise that power in its utmost latitude and extent.

That measures, so violent and unconstitutional, so subversive of the sacred and fundamental rights of the people, subjecting them to the most cruel oppression and bondage, will, in the judgement of your petitioners, be introductive of every species of mischief and confusion, and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly beseech this honourable house, that the said bill may not pass into a law ; or, at least, to take such care as in their wisdom
may

may seem meet, to prevent it from being extended, in its operation or construction, to any of his majesty's subjects resident in these kingdoms :

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

H A L L I F A X, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Tuesday, the 4th day of November, 1777.

A motion being made, and question put, That an humble address of congratulation be presented to his majesty, by this court, on the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another princess, the same was resolved in the affirmative : which address was read and agreed to as follows.

To

To

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord-mayor,
aldermen, and commons, of the city of
London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and
loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, al-
dermen, and commons, of the city of
London, in common-council assembled,
humbly beg leave to express our unfeign-
ed joy upon the happy delivery of our
most gracious queen, and the birth of ano-
ther princess; an event, which we consider
as an additional strength to the present hap-
py establishment in your majesty's illustrious
family, and as a farther security for the en-
joyment of our excellent constitution in
church and state.

Long may your majesty reign the true
guardian of the liberties of this free coun-
try, and be the instrument, in the hands
of

of providence, of transmitting to our posterity those invaluable rights and privileges, which are the birthright of the subjects of this kingdom.

*His majesty's answer, delivered the 7th day
of November, 1777.*

I thank you for this dutiful address, and your loyal congratulations on the happy delivery of the queen and the birth of another princess.

It is my invariable object to preserve, and transmit entire, the constitutional liberties of my people, which I shall ever consider as forming the basis of my government.

ESDAILE,

E S D A I L E, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildball of the city of London, on Wednesday, the 4th day of March, 1778.

A motion being made, and question put, That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty, praying that such conciliatory measures may be adopted, between Great-Britain and America, as may put a speedy end to the destructive war in which we are now engaged, the same was unanimously resolved in the affirmative : which address and petition was agreed to, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address and petition of the
lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons,
of

of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, attached to your majesty's royal house by principle, to your person by the truest affection, and to the honour and prosperity of your government by every interest which can be dear to the heart of man, in this present deplorable state of the affairs of this once great and flourishing country, with most profound humility implore leave to lay ourselves at your majesty's feet, to represent to your majesty the sentiments and wishes of a faithful and afflicted people.

When this civil war was first threatened, your loyal city of London, in concurrence with the sense of many other respectable

spectable public bodies of your kingdom,
and many of the wisest and best of your
subjects, did most humbly deprecate this
evil, foreboding but too truly the charges,
calamities, and disgraces, of which it has
been hitherto productive, and the greater
to which it is still likely to subject this
kingdom.

Your faithful people, on that occasion, had the misfortune to receive, from your majesty, an answer, more suitable to the imperfect manner in which (they fear) they expressed sentiments full of duty, than to your majesty's own most gracious disposition, their inviolable reverence to their sovereign, and their unshaken zeal for his true glory. They retired, in a mournful and respectful silence, patiently awaiting the disposition of providence, and the return of your majesty's favour and countenance, whenever experience should fully disclose, in its true light, the well-founded

founder nature of their apprehensions,
and the fatal tendency of those counsels by
which the nation has been misled.

For, misled and deceived your majesty
and many of your subjects have been.
No pains have been omitted to hide
from both the true nature of the business
in which we are engaged; no arts have
been left untried to stimulate the passions of
your subjects in this kingdom; and we
are confident, that infinitely more skill
and attention have been used to engage us
in this war, than have been employed to
conduct it to honour or advantage,—if ho-
nour or advantage could be obtained, by
any conduct, in such a war. We have
been industriously taught to suspect the
professions, and to despise the resistance,
of our brethren, (Englishmen, like our-
selves,) whom we had no sort of reason to
think deficient in the sincerity and courage
which have ever distinguished that name
and

X
PC

and race. Their inclinations have been misrepresented,—their natural faculties depreciated,—their resources miscalculated,—their feelings insulted,—until, fury and despair supplying whatever might be defective in force, we have seen a whole army, the flower of the trained military strength of Great-Britain and her allies, famishing in the wilderness of America, laying down their arms, and owing their immediate rescue from death to those very men, whom the murders and rapines of the savages (unhappily employed) had forced from husbandmen into soldiers, and who had been painted in such colours of contempt as to take away all consolation from our calamity.

We have seen another army, equally brave, and equally well commanded, for two years in an almost continued course of victory, by which they have only wasted their own numbers, without decreasing the
 strength

strength of the resisting power ; without
 leading to any sort of submission, or bring-
 ing to your majesty's obedience even the
 smallest and weakest of thirteen revolted
 provinces. The union of those provinces
 amongst themselves, and their animosity
 to your majesty's administration, have on-
 ly been encreased by the injudicious me-
 thods taken to break the one and to sub-
 due the other. Fleets and armies are
 maintained, in numbers almost equal,
 and at an expence comparatively far supe-
 rior, to what ever have been employed in
 the most glorious and successful struggles
 of this country against a combination of
 the most ancient and formidable monar-
 chies of Europe. A few inconsiderable
 detached islands, and one deserted town,
 on the continent, where your majesty's
 combined army has a perilous and insecure
 footing, are the only fruits of an expence
 exceeding twenty millions ; of ninety-
 three ships of war ; sixty thousand of the

best soldiers which could be procured, either at home or abroad, and appointed for that special service. Your majesty's forces, both by sea and land, have (we are told) done all that could be expected from the most accomplished discipline and the most determined courage, and yet, the total defeat of some of these forces, and the ineffectual victories of others, have almost equally conspired to the destruction of your power and the dismemberment of your empire. We should be unpardonably negligent of our duty,—to your majesty, to ourselves, and to our country,—if we did not thus solemnly express our feelings, upon this dreadful and decisive proof of the madness with which this attempt was originally made; and which, faithfully following it through every step of its progress, and every measure for its execution, has completed, by uniform misconduct, the mischiefs which were commenced in total ignorance. We are convinced,

convinced, that not the delusions of artful and designing men, (which, like every thing false, cannot be permanent,) but the general sense of the whole American people, is set and determined against the plans of coercion, civil and military, which have been hitherto employed against them. A whole united and irritated people cannot be conquered: if the force now employed cannot do it, no force, within our abilities, will do it.

The wealth of this nation is great; and our disposition would be to pour it out with the most unreserved and chearful liberality, for the support of the honour and dignity of your crown; but domestic peace and domestic œconomy are the only means of supplying expence for war abroad. In this contest our resources are exhausted, whilst those of our rivals are spared; and we are, every year of the continuance of this war, altering

the balance of our public strength and riches in their favour.

We think ourselves bound, most dread sovereign, to express our fears and apprehensions to your majesty, that, at a time when your majesty's gracious speech from the throne has hinted, and your vast naval preparations, in a style much more explicit, announce, to us and the world, the critical state in which we stand, with regard to the great neighbouring powers, we have not the comfort to learn,—from that speech,—from any assurance of your majesty's servants,—or even from common fame,—that any alliance whatever has been made with the other great states of Europe, in order to cover us from the complicated perils so manifestly imminent over this nation; we have as little reason to be certain that alliances of the most dangerous kind are not formed against us.

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In this state of anxious doubt and danger, we have recourse to the clemency and wisdom of your majesty, the tender parent and vigilant guardian of your people, that you will graciously take such measures as may restore internal peace, and (as far as the miserable circumstances, into which the late destructive courses have brought us, will permit) re-unite the British nation in some happy, honourable, and permanent, conjunction; lest the colonies, exasperated by the rigours of continued war, should become totally alienated from their parent country; lest every remaining spark of their affection should be extinguished in habits of mutual slaughter and rapine; and lest, in some evil hour, they, who have hitherto been the great support of the British strength, should become the most formidable and lasting accession to the constant enemies of

the power and prosperity of your kingdoms.

We humbly hope, and trust, that your majesty will give all due efficacy to the concessions (we wish those concessions may not have come too late) which have been proposed in parliament: and we have that undoubted reliance on the magnanimity of your majesty's enlarged and kingly affections, that we are under no apprehensions of your majesty's being biassed by private partiality to any set of men, in a case, where the good,—where the very being,—of your people is at stake: and, with an humble confidence, we implore and supplicate your majesty, that nothing may stand in the way of those arrangements, in your councils and executive offices, which may best forward the great, necessary, and blessed, work of peace; which may tend to rescue your affairs from unwise and improvident management; and which may obtain,

obtain, improve, and secure, the returning confidence of all your people. In such measures and such arrangements, for such an end, your citizens of London will never fail to give your majesty their most affectionate and steady support.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 13th of March, 1778.

I can never think that the zeal of my subjects, the resources of my kingdoms, and the bravery of my fleets and armies, can have been unwisely and improvidently exerted, when the object was to maintain the constitutional subordination which ought to prevail through the several parts of my dominions, and is essential to the prosperity of the whole. But I have always lamented the calamities inseparable from a state of war; and shall most earnestly give all the efficacy in my power to those measures which the legislature has a-

adopted, for the purpose of restoring, by some happy, honourable, and permanent, conciliation, the blessings of peace, commerce, affection, and confidence, between the mother-country and the colonies.

ESDAILE, Mayor.

A common-council holden, in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Saturday, the 23d of May, 1778.

A motion was made, and question put, that this court do agree to petition the honourable house of commons, that the remains of the late William Pitt, earl of Chatham, be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London: the same was resolved in the affirmative: which petition is as follows.

To

To the honourable the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners humbly beg leave to return their grateful thanks to this honourable house, for the noble and generous testimony which it has borne to the services and merits of the late William Pitt, earl of Chatham.

And your petitioners, with all humility, desire, that their zeal may not seem displeasing to this honourable house, or be interpreted as a wish in your petitioners to vary from the general sense of their country, as expressed in the late votes of this honourable house, by their requesting, That the remains of the late earl of Chatham

ham be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London.

Your petitioners farther represent to this honourable house, that they entirely feel the delicacy of their situation, in consequence of the several measures taken by this honourable house; but hope that a favourable interpretation will be put upon any particular marks of gratitude and veneration which the first commercial city of the empire is earnest to express towards the statesman, whose vigour and counsels had so much contributed to the protection and extension of its commerce.

E S D A I L E, Mayor.

A common-council bolden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Monday, the 25th day of May, 1778.

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A motion was made, and question put, That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty, by this court, respecting the burial of the late William Pitt, earl of Chatham: the same was resolved in the affirmative: which address and petition was agreed to, as follows.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address and petition of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

WE, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common-council assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our most humble and dutiful thanks, for the repeated and signal marks of your royal attention to the public sense of gratitude due to the memory

ry of the late William Pitt, earl of Chatham, as truly expressed by the resolution of the commons of Great-Britain, in parliament assembled.

And we humbly hope for your majesty's most gracious indulgence, when the testimonies, thus paid to the public virtues of this illustrious statesman, encourage your most faithful corporation to intreat, that the metropolis of your empire may be admitted to a share in the expressions of public veneration to a minister, so exemplary for his integrity, ability, and virtue. For this purpose we humbly beseech, that your majesty, in your royal condescension, would give permission, that the remains of the said earl of Chatham be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the city of London,

We hope that we are not guilty of unwarrantable presumption in conceiving, that our wishes on this subject are not inconsistent

tent with those of the honourable house of commons ; and we flatter ourselves, that, if your majesty should graciously acquiesce in this our humble prayer, it cannot fail to be agreeable to the family of the deceased, whose attention to us on all proper occasions it is our pride to remember, who condescended to become our fellow-citizen, and to whom, could he have foreseen it, we are convinced this attempt to cherish his memory would not have been unacceptable.

And we beg farther humbly to represent to your majesty, that we feel ourselves singularly happy in thinking, that in this our humble petition we shew our duty and attachment to our most gracious sovereign, and the illustrious house of Brunswick, by our respect to one of their most zealous and faithful servants ; at the same time that we express our gratitude, as a commercial body, to a man, who so signally supported
its

its interests : and humbly pray, that the noblest edifice in your majesty's dominions may become the depository of the remains of one among the noblest of your subjects.

His majesty's answer, delivered the 5th of June, 1778.

In consequence of the address of the house of commons, That a monument should be erected to the memory of the late earl of Chatham in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, it has been ordered that his remains be there interred, and the necessary preparations have been made for that purpose.

T H E E N D.

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